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A compendious history of the
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A
COMPENDIOUS HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH CHURCHES
IN
ENGLAND,
SCOTLAND, IRELAND, AND AMERICA.
WITH AN
INTRODUCTORY SKETCH
OF THE
History of the Waldenses.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE SECESSION.

BY JOHN BROWN,
LATE PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY UNDER THE ASSOCIATE SYNOD,
AND MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, HADDINGTON.

“Walk about Sion,—tell the towers thereof, mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her
palaces; that ye may tell it to the generations following.” *Psalm xlv* v. 12, 15.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:
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PREFACE.

THE remarkable usefulness of Church History hath been formerly hinted. An acquaintance with that of our own, and of our neighbouring churches, must certainly be peculiarly necessary to instruct us concerning the many divine favours received, and the many sins ungratefully committed in our land. In this abridgment, I have attempted to exhibit the principal substance of many large volumes. In the English History, my materials have been extracted from Fox, Fuller, Burnet, Strype, and sometimes from Collier, but chiefly from Warner, Neal, Calamy, Bennet, and Pierce.—In the Scotch, Knox, Calderwood, Bailie, Brown, Shields, Burnet, Wodrow, Crookshanks, De Foe, Stevenson, Kirkton's MSS. Acts of Parliaments and Assemblies, and even Spotswood and Guthrie, &c. have been my conductors. I have aimed at

impartiality in my narrations, but dare not pretend that I have every where attained this rare historical excellency. That I might not be tempted to impose my own inventions instead of facts, I have seldom dipt into the secret springs of men's actions, or made reflections on them. Freedoms of this kind too often render histories little better than well written romances.

To complete my historical plan, I once intended compiling other two volumes of the Histories of the Protestant churches of France, Switzerland, Holland, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Sweden, and Denmark, to which that of the Waldenses, herewith published, was to have been the Introduction. But want of access to many necessary vouchers, together with the increasing infirmities of old age, oblige me to drop this design.—May some other, more adequate to the work, speedily take it up. It is not, perhaps, to the clerical honour, that so many of them labour in civil histories, while that of the church of Christ is so much neglected.

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A
COMPENDIOUS HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND,
AND OF THE
PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN IRELAND AND AMERICA.
GIVING AN ACCOUNT
OF THE MOST MATERIAL TRANSACTIONS SINCE THE INTRODUCTION
OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE PRESENT TIME.
WITH AN
INTRODUCTORY SKETCH
OF THE
History of the Waldenses,

A.

BRIEF SKETCH

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES,

FROM WHOM

ALL THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES ORIGINATED.

CHAP. I.

Introductory Account of the Waldenses—Early Embracement of the Gospel—Long Freedom from, and Opposition to, Popery—Terrible Persecutions, and spread thereby into most of the Countries of Europe.—Almost utter Destruction of their Churches.

WHETHER the inhabitants of the north parts of Italy, (or Italy proper,) of which Milan was the capital, received the Gospel in the end of the first, or the beginning of the second century of the Christian æra, is uncertain. During the first four centuries, their doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, appear to have been much

on the same footing with their neighbour churches, into which a desire of conformity with the heathens, and with the civil government, had gradually introduced a number of lesser corruptions. But, from the writings of their bishops, Ambrose of Milan, Philastrius and Gaudentius, of Brescia, in the 4th; and of Ruffinus, Chromatius, and Niceas of Aquileia, in the 5th; and of Laurentius of Milan, Ennodius of Pavia, and others, in the 6th century, it appears that they still held all the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, which were afterwards opposed by the Papists. They were so far from depending on the Roman Pontiff, that, in the last half of the 6th, and first half of the 7th century, they were in a state of formal separation from him, and sometimes held him as a heretic. Nor in the writings of Maurus of Ravenna, Mansuetus of Milan, or the Liturgy ascribed to Ambrose in the 7th, and of Paulinus of Aquileia, or of the less judicious Paulus Diaconus, and his collection of the Homilies of the Fathers, do we find the Popish doctrines relative to the Scriptures, the merit of good works, mediation of saints, or worship of creatures, or their images, or transubstantiation of the sacramental elements established—but the contrary. Nay, the council of Frankfort, in A. D. 794, made a noble stand in opposition to the worship of images, and other increasing errors, idolatries, and superstitions of the Romish church.

While the Christian church, as Angilbertus of Milan mournfully laments, retained almost no remains of holiness, sincerity, or purity, God, in the beginning of the 9th century, raised up Claude, bishop of Turin, with great learning and faithfulness, to defend and illustrate the

truth in opposition to the prevailing errors and corruptions of the times, in his *Commentaries* on the books of Moses, Ruth, Gospel according to Matthew, and the Epistles of Paul to the Galatians and Ephesians, and his letters to Theodormir and others. He boldly maintained the equality of the other apostles to Peter; and that men's works can, in no respect, merit the favour of God; that no traditions ought to be admitted as grounds or parts of religion; that men are saved by faith in Christ alone; that all churches on earth are liable to error; that prayer for the dead is unprofitable; that God alone, and no creature, whether original or image, ought to be worshipped; that the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper are not turned into the real body and blood of Christ, but are appointed representations of them. The council of *Paris* in 825, as well as Agobardus, Archbishop of Lyons, justified Claude in the most of what he said, especially in his opposition to the worship of images, and superstition. In the *tenth* century, the doctrines of Claude were maintained by Ratherius of Verona, not without a mixture of mistakes. Perhaps they were more faithfully maintained by Gundulfus, and his numerous followers, in the *eleventh* century; but their tenets have been miserably misrepresented by their Popish adversaries, as well as themselves were cruelly persecuted.

Notwithstanding all that the Popes could do, by force or flattery, the Archbishop of Milan, and the whole of his large diocese in Italy, properly so called, continued independent of Rome, till about A. D. 1050; about which time, Nicolas II. by means of his agent Damian, having

got a party to submit, laboured to expel all the married clergy. These and others, highly offended with the persecution of Berenger, who maintained much the same doctrine as Claude of Turin had done, separated themselves from all church-fellowship with the Roman see and its adherents. Notwithstanding the persecutions and calumnies they suffered, these opponents of the Romish corruptions exceedingly increased, and spread themselves into almost all Italy and France, Switzerland, and part of Germany. From their living in the *valleys* of the Alps, these in Piedmont, Savoy, and places about, were called *Vallenses* or *Waldenses*.—These in the south of France were called *Albigenses*, or poor men of Lyons, from their residence in or about *Albi* and *Lyons*. From some of their principal preachers, they were called *Berengarians*, *Petrobrusians*, *Henricians*, *Arnoldists*, *Esperonists*, and *Josephists*; as in England, they were called *Lollards*.—Either from mere malice, or by confounding them with some that were really such, their adversaries called them *Manichees*, *Cathari*, &c. and charged them with the grossest errors, and the most abominable practices; but, from the concurrent testimonies of the two Reymers, that executed the office of Inquisitors against them, and of Freher, Baronius, Ralph-Cogshall, Lienstein, Thuanus, Claude-Seissel, Archbishop of Turin, Ribera, Paradin, the Emperor Frederic II. and many other Papists, it appears that their lives were remarkably pure and holy, so that nothing but their opposition to the abominations of Rome could be justly charged upon them. And from their ancient manuscripts, placed by Moreland in the library of Cambridge, and others

in the library of Geneva, particularly from their *Noble Lesson, Explication of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments, Catechism, Confession of sins, Spiritual Almanack, and Sermons and Tracts* concerning *Antichrist, Purgatory, and Invocation of saints*, all dated about A. D. 1120; and from their *Confession of Faith* of that date, compared with those of 1532, 1535, 1552, 1544, 1563, and 1655, published for their own vindication, in Italy, France, or Bohemia;—and from the accounts of Reyner, Pope Pius II. Claude-Seissel, Thuanus, and other Papists, as well as of the Centuriators of Magdeburgh, it appears that their doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, were all along very like those of the reformed churches of Geneva, France, Holland, Scotland, &c.

No doubt some of them had particular opinions; but they generally maintained, that the word of God is the ONLY rule and standard of religion;—that the decrees of councils and dictates of fathers are to be admitted, only in so far as they agree with it; that the reading and knowledge of the Scripture are equally free to the laity and clergy; that the Scripture itself is to be read, rather than the dictates of men; that baptism and the Lord's supper are the only sacraments of the New Testament church; that the eucharist is to be received in both elements by the people as well as by the priests; that the bread and wine used in it, are but signs and symbols of Christ's body and blood; that masses are impious;—and to say them for the dead is downright madness; that Purgatory, or any other middle state of departed souls, is but an invention of men; that the invocation of saints is ido-

THE INTRODUCTION, OR

latrous; that the church of Rome is the apocalyptic whore of Babylon; that it is a true church which heareth the sincere word of Christ, and useth the sacraments instituted by him, be where it will; that the Romish Pope hath no lawful primacy over the church, or any title to both civil and ecclesiastical power; that he and his bishops are the devouring plagues of the church; that priests's marriage is lawful, and vows of celibacy an invention of men, and occasion of sodomy; that monkery is but a stinking carcase of devotion, and its orders so many marks of the Antichristian beast; that dedications of churches, commemorations of the dead, priestly benedictions of bells, mitres, palls, palms, or other irrational creatures, together with forced fastings, superstitious festivals, perpetual chanting of hymns, and the like, were invented by the devil; that none but God can forgive sin; and that auricular confession of it to priests is unnecessary, and ought not to be admitted instead of public satisfaction for scandals.

While their regard to the Scripture, and learning it by heart, and their uncommon holiness, and in some things extreme strictness of practice, sufficiently distinguished them from the Papalins, and recommended their principles to all around them, they were spread, with marvellous success, by *Bruis* and *Henry*, through most of the south of *France*, notwithstanding all that *Bernard* and others could do to oppose them. About A. D. 1160, a rich merchant of Lyons, commonly called *Peter Wac'do*, joined himself to them, procured a translation of the Bible into their vulgar language; and, having distributed his stock among the poor, he, in 1180, commenc-

ed a public teacher, and had an amazing success in publishing the Gospel of Christ. Pope Lucius III. by a sentence of excommunication, consigned him, and all his obstinate brethren to the devil and his angels; and required all Archbishops, Bishops, Princes, Nobles, and others having authority, to hunt them out, and either force them back to the bosom of the church, or else utterly destroy them—under pain of excommunication and confiscation of goods to themselves, if they were not duly diligent. Not very long after, Ildefonsus, King of Arragon, and Frederic of Germany, emitted edicts, bearing, that if any of their subjects should attend the sermons of these heretics, or afford them meat, drink, or lodging, their goods should be confiscated, and themselves punished as guilty of high treason; and charging these heretics to depart out of their dominions within three days after hearing of these edicts—and encouraging all their subjects to plague, and distress, and despitely use them, if they did not.

The Waldenses still increased, and imperceptibly spread through the most of Europe—Hungary, Bulgaria, Britain; and had numerous congregations in Italy, France, Germany, and Spain. It is said, they amounted to about eight or ten hundred thousand. Finding their throne in danger of being shaken, by their means, the Pontiffs had recourse to new and extraordinary methods of subduing these opposers. In the south of France, where the Earl of Tholouse and other great men protected them, and where, it seems, the clergy had been more humane or indolent, they almost filled both cities and country. Pope Innocent II. therefore delegated Reyner, a Cistercian monk, and Peter of Castlenau to root out

these heretics. In A. D. 1206, Dominic and his companions heartily joined them. By declamations and sophistical arguments, or by capital punishments where words were not effectual, they laboured, with no small assiduity and zeal, and no inconsiderable success, in their converting work. Like missions and courts of inquisition were therefore established by *His Holiness* in every city of Europe, the inhabitants of which were suspected of heresy. At first, these courts proceeded in much the same forms as ordinary courts of justice. But, encouraged by the inhuman edicts of *Frederic II.* of *Germany*, and *Lewis IX.* of *France*, the *Dominicans* gradually formed their inquisitorial judicatories into such engines of injustice, treachery, cruelty, and filthiness, as might have made devils to abhor them, and blush. The years 1375, 1380, 1400, 1460, 1487, 1488, 1494, 1506, 1532, 1540, 1541, 1560, 1561, &c. &c. are represented as most distinguished by their infernal work. But sometimes, these bloody reformers were driven out, and murdered by the enraged populace.

Some of the rules formed for these inquisitors were, 1. That they should never dispute any point of religion before the people. 2. That none who, in any respect, favoured any heretic, should be allowed sacramental absolution. 3. That such as did not discover an heretic, should be cut off from the church, as a corrupt member. 4. That an heretic delivered over to the secular power, should never be allowed to vindicate himself before the people. 5. That they should beware of favouring any condemned person before the people, upon his retracting his heresy, and promising to turn from it. 6. The inquisitors should always suppose the facts

charged as fully evident, and only examine the pannel on circumstances relating to them. 7. They ought alway to have a book open before them, in which they may pretend the pannel's whole life, and a great many depositions against him, are recorded. 8. They ought constantly to threaten him with inevitable death and damnation, if he do not ingenuously confess every thing, and renounce his heresy. 9. They ought never to attempt to convince him by the Scriptures, lest themselves should be confounded by his answers. 10. They ought never to answer directly to him, and ought to heap a variety of questions upon him at once, in order to confound him. 11. If he seem ready to protest that he never embraced the heresy he is charged with, they ought to pretend that they have sufficient proofs of the contrary, and that if he confess freely, he may expect favour.

While the courts of inquisition thus laboured to hunt out, and destroy these witnesses of Christ, the Popes excited the civil powers to persecute them in every place;—in *Terra Nova*; in *Calabria*; in *Provence*; in *Dauphine*; at *Paris*; in *Bohemia* and *Austria*; in *Germany*; in *England*; in *Flanders* and *Holland*; in *Poland*; in *Italy*; in *Dalmatia*; in *Croatia*; in *Sclavonia*; at *Constantinople*; in *Greece*; in *Livonia*; in *Sarmatia*; in *Bulgaria*; and in *Spain*, as *Perrin* hath particularly recorded. But in *France*, *Bohemia*, and *Piedmont*, we find them most cruelly murdered. In order to extirpate them from the south of *France*, where *Remund* Earl of *Tholouse*, *Remund* Earl of *Foix*, the Viscount of *Beziers*, and others, protected them, Pope Innocent III. taking occasion from Friar Peter's death in that country, ex-

communicated *Remund of Thoulouse*, charging all archbishops and bishops to pronounce him accursed with sound of bell, and extinction of candles, every Sabbath and festival, for murdering a good servant of God. He absolved all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance to him, and commanded all good catholics to pursue his person, and seize on his property. He sent preachers through all Europe, to promise paradise and all other privileges granted to those that went to the Holy War in the East, to all such as should bear arms against the *Albigenses* for the space of forty days. Some hundred thousands quickly marched to destroy them, and seize on their spoil. Terrified by their approaches, *Remund* not only cleared himself from the murder of Friar *Peter*, but delivered up all his property to the Pope, and submitted to a most public whipping, naked, and to swear to be obedient to the Pope all his life, and to make irreconcilable war against the *Albigenses*, &c. To avoid commanding the crossed army against them, he went off to Rome, to reconcile himself with his Holiness. *Béziers* was quickly besieged and taken, and about sixty thousand of its inhabitants murdered in cold blood. Nor could the supplications of the Popish clergy and people prevent their sharing in the common ruin. The military pilgrims immediately laid siege to the town of Carcasson, and having taken it, put all the inhabitants to the sword. They soon after, with no inconsiderable loss, took the city of Carcasson; but the inhabitants had slipped off, through a subterraneous vault, and fled to Arragon, Catalonia, and Thoulouse. The Earl of *Béziers* being perfidiously taken, died in prison, and his lands were given to Simon, Earl

of Montfort, who was made general of the Pope's army. Assisted by the king of *Arragon*, and by the *English*, who hated Montfort, the *Albigenses* still stood their ground, notwithstanding all the perfidious stratagems of the Papists to destroy them. The Pope's forces at length gave them a dreadful defeat, in which, and its issue, they boasted that they killed about two millions of them.—The council of *Lateran*, in A. D. 1212, having formed some new resolutions for the utter extirpation of the *Albigenses*, another mighty army, of perhaps 300,000 crossed soldiers, was raised under Simon of Montfort, by which, and the assistance of Lewis VIII. and IX. kings of France, the *Albigenses*, after a war of about thirty years, were almost utterly destroyed, or driven from their country, and the Earl of Tholouse, and their other helpers, were reduced to the most humiliating terms. Nor is it probable that less than 500,000 of the Pontifical butchers perished in their murdering work.

Multitudes of the *Albigenses* and their brethren having fled into Bohemia and Austria, were soon afterwards reckoned about 80,000 in these parts. It doth not appear, that any general persecution was raised against them till about A. D. 1416, when *John Huss* and *Jerome of Prague*, partly enlightened by books from England, made a bold and open stand against the Romish abominations. The Bohemian nobles loudly complaining of the perfidious murder of these eminent ministers by the council of *Constance*, and they and their people requiring the use of the cup in the Lord's supper, the Pope excommunicated the whole nation, and obtested the emperor, kings, princes, &c. by the wounds of Christ, and by their own

salvation, to take arms against, and extirpate that accursed generation from the face of the earth,—promising full remission of sin to every one who should kill any of them. But the Lord, for a time, made the Bohemians under *Zisca* and *Procopius*, the terror of all the armies that could be raised against them. The Papists, nevertheless, by throwing about 4000 of them into deep mines, into rivers, and otherwise destroying them, did them all the mischief they could; and at length, by craftily dividing them, got multitudes of the poorer sort cut off.—Notwithstanding these murders,—notwithstanding imperial edicts, prohibiting these *Bohemian brethren*, that continued adhering to the truth, to remain in *Bohemia* or *Moravia*,—and notwithstanding manifold persecutions, especially of their ministers, they maintained their ground, and had their Societies exceedingly well regulated.—As, at the Reformation, they entered into a fraternal correspondence with the Lutherans, they shared with them in their afflictions. The Bohemian nation having refused to assist Charles V. in obliging the Germans to receive the decrees of the council of Trent, Ferdinand his brother imprisoned, fined, scourged, banished, or murdered their principal men, and confiscated their estates, and disarmed and disenfranchised the city of *Prague*, the capital of their country. He, by an edict, banished all the *brethren*, and ordered their churches to be shut up. This did but stir them up to resolve to be still more faithful for God,—and part of them to retire to Poland. In 1549, Ferdinand, by another edict, banished about two hundred of their ministers, that were married, or had received their ordination in Germany.

Thereafter, till A. D. 1617, the Bohemians enjoyed not a little peace and liberty, under their Popish sovereigns. But Ferdinand having forced himself into the throne, contrary to the fundamental constitutions of their kingdom, resolved rather to render his dominions desolate, than to allow an heretic to dwell in them, set himself by every possible artifice, as well as bloody violence, to complete the destruction of their church;—in which he succeeded to his wish. Contrary to his coronation oath, he encouraged the Popish clergy and nobility to vex his other subjects on account of their religion. Protestants were prohibited to print any thing but what was licensed by the Popish chancellor, while Papists had full liberty to misrepresent, reproach, and abuse them. The Burgrave, who kept the crown, and privileges of the kingdom, was imprisoned, because he had insisted for a free election of the king. The Protestant churches began to be gradually destroyed. In 1618, the states were prohibited to hold their usual meetings for consultation. Their election of *Frederic*, elector *Palatine*, for their king, did but enrage Ferdinand, who was now chosen to be emperor; and raising an army, by a bloody war, soon reduced them to their wonted, or rather worse subjection. By plundering noblemen's houses,—by extorting free quarters and money from the subjects,—by decoying nobles, corporations, ministers, and others to lend their money,—by causing the cities which belonged to Protestants to maintain his standing army,—by raising gold and silver to a tenfold price, in order to pay the Protestants, and then suddenly diminishing its value as much, —by ordering creditors to lose all that they had

lent during the rebellion, as he called it,—he, first, in order, reduced his Protestant subjects to extreme poverty. Next Commissioners of reformation were appointed in every town and village, who laboured to disgrace the Protestant religion, and extol the Popish. The most eminent men were invited to apostacy, and others decoyed by their example, or compelled to it. An high *court of reformers* was erected, from which there was no appeal. Such ministers as apostatized were highly favoured and promoted, while such as stedfastly adhered to their principles were barbarously abused by the soldiers, or banished, or murdered, and their places filled with illiterate persons, apostates, or Jesuits. Their congregations were charged to assist in persecuting them, and threatened with death, if they harboured or concealed them. About fifty of the principal Protestant noblemen were condemned and executed; and underwent their martyrdom in a most Christian manner. Whatever belonged to them or other Protestants, was confiscated, or given to the soldiers, and other Papists. Ferdinand called for all the ancient charters of the kingdom, and destroyed them. Protestant tutors for children were absolutely prohibited: all Protestants were declared *outlaws*, and commanded to leave the kingdom, unless they resolved to become catholics, within six months. Protestants' children were ordered to be taken from them, and committed to monks or other Papists for instruction; and Protestant wives were banished from their husbands. Many of the ancient laws securing the liberties of the subjects were repealed; and the free cities were impoverished by taxes and contributions cruelly extort-

ed, and had soldiers and other mean and base men, especially apostates, imposed upon them for their magistrates.—It was enacted, That none but Papists should be allowed any traffic or commerce,—or to learn any trade,—or to make a *latter will*,—or to continue in hospitals; and that whosoever should harbour a Protestant preacher should suffer death with confiscation of goods. Bibles and other evangelical books were sought out and destroyed. Such as were weak and simple, were cajoled and flattered to embrace Popery. Such as attempted to leave the country were hindered. Fair promises of pity or favour were perfidiously made or broken. Marriage, baptism, and burial of Protestants were prohibited under severe penalties. Such as remained in the country, were either forced to conform, or were barbarously murdered; so that, since 1625, there have scarce been any public appearances of a Protestant church in *Bohemia*.

But no where were the Waldenses more frequently, or more cruelly persecuted, or shewed more stedfastness in the faith, than in their native valleys of Piedmont and places about. Such multitudes of them were apprehended in the 13th century, that the Popish archbishops of Arles and Narbonne represented to their inquisitorial persecutors, That the country could not afford materials for building prisons to contain them. In 1440, their enemies suddenly fell upon those of the valley of Pragela, and cruelly massacred multitudes of them in the depth of winter. Such as escaped the hands of these butchers generally perished by cold and hunger in the mountains. No less than fifty infants were found frozen to

death,—some of them in the arms of their mothers, who had shared a like fate. Finding that no cruelties exercised upon particular persons or places, availed to their extirpation, Pope *Innocent VIII.* in 1487, published a most furious edict against them, requiring the duke of Savoy, king of France, and all other princes, nobles, magistrates, and others, to take arms against them, and destroy them wherever they could be found ; and requiring all preachers to stir up and encourage their hearers to the utmost, by promises of indulgence, pardon of sin, and an immediate entrance to distinguished blessedness in heaven, to root them out from the face of the earth ; and threatening deposition to all civil and ecclesiastical rulers or officers, who should not with due diligence promote this bloody work.—Albert de Capitaneis, his legate, enforced this bull with an extensive accusation of the Waldenses, and with proper directions how to extirpate them. Animated by these things, the princes and magistrates attacked them, in every place, and in every form, and murdered above eight hundred thousand of them, insomuch, that, for a time, the remains of them were scarcely visible. The duke of Savoy at last, fearing that his dominions would be depopulated by such a pernicious war, put an end to it in them.

It was not, however, long, when Margaret de Foix cruelly persecuted part of them that inhabited the marquisate of Saluces : but, animated by God, they drove out those that had seized their property, and enjoyed it peaceably for many years. Importuned by the archbishop and the Inquisitor of Turin, Charles duke of Savoy, in 1535, ordered part of his troops to surprise

and massacre the Waldenses ; but finding that, after they had recovered from their consternation, they, in their own defence, killed multitudes of their murderers, he was obliged to put an end to his open war, and take more slow methods to destroy them, who had multiplied so exceedingly of late, as to be reckoned more than eight hundred thousand. Encouraged by Francis I. king of France, and by Pope Paul III. the Parliament of Turin, in 1536, renewed the persecution, and required the Waldenses to drive out all their *barbs* or ministers ; and that all the rest should, under pain of death, resolve within three days to go to Mass ;—and in order to promote this, the most eloquent Popish preachers were sent to officiate among them ; but they got almost none to attend their harangues.—Sundry of their *barbs* were condemned and burnt.—By order of the French court, or instigated by his own bloody disposition, De Oppeda, in 1545, fell upon these about Merindol and Cabrieres, and, in the most cruel and barbarous manner, murdered about 4000 of them, and burnt twenty-two boroughs and villages. Philibert Duke of Savoy, being re-established in his dominions by the peace of 1559, the monks excited him to raise a new persecution against the Waldenses ; but, by means of their representation to him, and to his duchess, the sister of Henry of France, who really befriended them, a temporary stop was put to it. Nevertheless, it was not long, when Philibert, pushed and assisted by the Pope, and by the kings of Spain and France, sent a powerful army, under the Lord of Trinity, to exterminate them from the face of the earth. He, in 1560 and 1561, by every method, cruel or perfidious,

dious, did what he could to destroy them, especially their ministers. But the repeated rebuffs his troops met with from handfuls of these people, together with the intercessions of Margaret his duchess, made him grant them liberty of worshipping God in their own way, by a formal treaty, June 5, 1561.

Nevertheless, within about four years after, Philibert, perhaps instigated by Castrocaro, the bloody governor of these valleys, and especially by the Pope, published an edict, requiring all his subjects, either to give their solemn promise, before a magistrate, within ten days, that they would go to Mass, or remove out of his dominions within two months, and commanding magistrates to transmit to him exact lists of all such as did not obey, that he might take proper measures to punish them. But the missives of the Protestant princes of Germany, one of which from the Elector Palatine was exceedingly nervous and faithful, together with the intercession of the duchess, restrained the full execution of it,—though Castrocaro exercised all the cruelty he could upon them. Some of them being cruelly prosecuted because they or their friends had assisted the French Protestants, Charles IX. of France wrote a letter to their duke in their favour. In the end of that same year 1571, they entered into a solemn covenant to maintain their religion, and assist one another in their stedfast adherence to it; which mightily encouraged themselves, and not a little dispirited their enemies. No sooner had the duchess died in 1574, than the bigotted Papists stirred up the duke to renew the persecution against his Waldenses; but, by the intercession of some great men, the exe-

cution of it was in a great measure prevented. His son Charles, who succeeded him in 1580, had allowed them some rest, had not their inveterate enemies, the monks and their supporters, by an infinity of villanies, imposed on him, and thus been permitted to exercise their cruelties. Meanwhile, the Waldenses, in the Marquisate of Saluces, which, from 1559 to 1558, had fallen under the power of France, were persecuted in much the same manner as their brethren under the Dukes of Savoy. That country returning to the duke, their Popish adversaries never rested, till, by their perfidies and persecutions, they had entirely ruined the followers of Christ in it, about 1633.

Notwithstanding the Waldenses of Piedmont had, in 1603 and 1620, obtained a new confirmation of their liberties, every artifice was used to hasten and complete their destruction. The monks and priests loaded them with calumnies, artificially dressed up, to render them detestable. Apostates and others were encouraged or hired to commence processes against them, or to excite them to mutual law-suits. Their youth were tempted to lucrative marriages with Papists. Such as fell under discipline were tempted to refuse submission, and to commence catholics. This, together with the general death of their pastors, by the plague in 1630, and their receiving of French ministers in their stead, occasioned a relaxation of their discipline. All sorts of criminals were favoured, if they renounced their heresy. Apostates were enriched by false contracts, and such as adhered to their religion were obliged to pay taxes for them. Popish missionaries were appointed to labour among

them as spies and seducers. The most wicked and infamous persons were encouraged, and largely bribed to bear witness against them. And if any, even Papists, witnessed for them, and against their monkish or jesuitical abusers, he was in danger of being excommunicated and punished as a favourer of heresy. To advise any from hearing the missionaries, exposed one to death and confiscation of goods. To give these missionaries full opportunity of seducing souls, or prying into secrets, they were appointed to collect the taxes. Persons in poverty or in sickness were promised large assistance, if they but engaged to go to Mass. All but Papists were prohibited to have either public or private schools, or to hold any kind of public office. Infants were forced from their parents to be trained up by Papists. A council for extirpation of heresy was formed at Turin. For a trial, all the Waldenses of Campillon were commanded, under pain of death and confiscation of goods, for ever to abandon their houses, and whatever they possessed, within the space of twenty-four hours. New forms of persecution and torture were contrived. The Waldenses were continually cited to *Turin*, where they were ruined by the expences of the plea, or of their imprisonment. While Jews, heathens, and Mahometans were exempted by law, and nowise required to conform, the Inquisition was authorized and encouraged to compel them to conform to the Romish religion, or to destroy them; and they were joined with *sorcerers* in the laws made against them. Troops were lodged in their valleys, that they might be ready, in a moment, to cut their throats. To gratify their own resentment, Popish rulers sometimes murdered priests, and then laid the blame on the Waldenses.

Having, by these means, prepared matters, Charles, Duke of Savoy, notwithstanding his solemn treaty with them in 1653 and 1654, and notwithstanding their most humble and earnest supplications to him, and his mother, and their pretended attention thereto, by which their deputies were detained at Turin, did by the instigation of the *council for extirpating heresy*, order his troops to march unexpectedly into these valleys, and murder his evangelical subjects. The Marquis of Pianesse, and other commanders of the troops, by flattery, and by perfidious promises, amused the poor people, to prevent their standing on their own defence, or escaping to the mountains, that they might have the barbarous pleasure of cutting all their throats, or dispatching them in still crueller forms. So dreadful was the cruelty and carnage made upon ministers, men, women, and children, as had scarce ever been exemplified on earth. Provoked herewith, Jahier, Gianvel, and other brave Waldenses, took arms, and heading small handfuls of their brethren, defended themselves, and often defeated their enemies, even when they were twenty or sometimes an hundred times their number. This, together with the remonstrances of Oliver Cromwell, the States of Holland, and Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, obliged the Duke and his council to put a stop to their infernal massacre, which they laboured to excuse and colour over with the most abominable falsehoods, and to confirm their liberties by a new treaty.—Cromwell not only effectually remonstrated for their relief, but procured them large collections in England, L.12,000 Sterling, of which he deposited as a fund for the support of their ministers and schools. But, by

Charles's restoration, they were robbed of this privilege.

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned treaty of *Pignerol*, the Envoys from *England*, *Holland*, *Switzerland*, and *France*, who had come to intercede for these persecuted people, had scarcely gone home, when the court of *Savoy* and their agents had renewed their persecution, and continued it, notwithstanding the humble remonstrances of the persecuted, and the intercessory missives from the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and the States of *Holland* and *Switzerland*. The poor people were obliged to attend at *Turin*, if they had dependent processes. They were deprived of liberty to trade. Their deputies, who applied to their Prince, were remitted to the Inquisitors. The territory of *St. John* was deprived of all public exercise of their religion—and, under the most false and frivolous pretences, almost every article of the late treaty was violated. Their managers of the public collections sent them by their Protestant friends, were falsely charged with embezzling the money. Stratagems were formed for securing the ignominious death or assassination of Mr. John Leger, their faithful and active moderator—or superintendent of their churches. The Duke and his court refused to read any petition that respected their religion or trade. Bagnol, who had greatly recommended himself by his burnings and unheard-of cruelties, in the late massacre, was rewarded with the government of the valleys, and quickly began to imprison or assassinate their inhabitants. After he had decoyed such of them, as had fled, to return to their houses, he and the Marquis of Fleury fell upon them with their

troops. But necessity obliging the poor people to stand in their own defence, they had marvellous success against their murderers, though sometimes a hundred to one. This, as well as the intercession of the Cantons of Switzerland, induced the court of Savoy to think of renewing their treaty with them. But, while their deputies were at *Turin*, and contrary to the most solemn declarations of the court, their valleys were at once suddenly invaded by *Bagnol* and *Damian*, and about sixteen or eighteen thousand butchering troops; but the poor people, assisted by God, and with the loss of no more than six, drove them out, with the loss of six hundred, if not two thousand of the soldiers. They obtained a new treaty in 1664, but which was clogged with several injurious restrictions, and with the payment of about an hundred thousand pounds Sterling to the Duke and his partizans for pretended damages. As the fulfilment of this treaty, in some measure, depended on *Lewis XIV.* of *France*, the Cantons of *Switzerland*, States of *Holland*, and court of *Britain* wrote to him in favour of these poor persecuted people, as well as they did and had done to the Duke of *Savoy*. Notwithstanding all these treaties and assurances, they were still persecuted in manifold forms, till at last the court of *Turin*, encouraged by *Lewis XIV.*'s revocation of the edict of *Nantz*, and instigated by the Popish clergy, commenced another furious persecution of them in 1686, which entirely ruined their churches, and obliged them to disperse themselves along with the French Protestants into other countries. Thus the Waldenses, who had, under God, given birth to all the Protestant churches, were at last obliged to flee for refuge amongst them.

Amidst these manifold persecutions, it is hard to say, whether the Christian patience and steadfastness of the Waldenses, or the infernal perfidies and cruelties of their enemies were most amazing. Multitudes of them were condemned and publicly burnt, as if they had been the most infamous criminals. Multitudes of them, after suffering all the cruelties, terrors, and tortures of the Inquisition, shared the same fate. After manifold oppressions and impoverishing exactions, multitudes were driven from their dwellings, and all their neighbours being prohibited to relieve them, perished by cold and hunger. They were loaded with the vilest reproaches, in order to make every body abhor them, and their very infants were represented as absolute monsters in the form of their bodies. Sometimes they were obliged to put on boots full of boiling tallow, and required to walk in them. They had soldiers quartered upon them, who, like devils, raged, blasphemed, and tormented them, every way they could devise. Sometimes they were crammed into narrow rooms, where they had neither room to stand, sit, or lie, that they might be suffocated by their own breath or stench. Multitudes were thrown from the tops of rocks, or into deep mines. Sometimes the men were assembled and sportfully hewed in pieces by the soldiers, while the women were driven into houses and barbarously burnt. Multitudes were murdered in the streets, and their naked carcasses for several days left unburied. Others were stript naked, while alive, and turned out amidst frost and snow. Some were cast into dungeons full of snakes, or like venomous tormentors. Some were thrust into holes, full of iron spikes, in which

they could neither sit nor stand upright. Some were cast into prisons on the water, in which they could not stretch themselves; and if they turned themselves, they must fall into the water. Others were kept in prisons till they were suffocated, perished with cold and hunger, or their bodies gradually rotted alive. Some had their mouths slit up to their ears. Others had the flesh cut off from their faces. Others were slashed in different parts of their bodies, or had their members cut off, one after another. Others were often put to the strappado, and then hewn in pieces. Some had their brains dashed out against the rocks. Others were nailed by the feet to trees, with their heads hanging downward. Others had their brains, breasts, or privy parts taken out, or cut off, and broiled, or roasted, and eaten, or otherwise shamefully or cruelly used. Others had their anils torn off by pincers, or had their other torments prolonged as much as possible. Others were dragged furiously through streets or stony places, at the tails of mules or horses. Others were, in the most barbarous manner, hung up on tenter hooks, or the like, by their secret parts. Others had their bodies stabbed all over with forks. Some had burning matches put between their lips or fingers, &c. or were roasted before, or upon slow fires. Such as had fled into caves were shut up, smoked to death, or otherwise destroyed. After being brutally ravished, women had stakes run up through their belly, and were thus carried naked on the soldiers' shoulders, or set up by way sides, or had their bellies ript up, or were cruelly burnt. If unborn infants dropt out, they were thrown into the fire, given to dogs, or trodden under foot. Other babes were dash-

ed against stones, or precipitated from high rocks, or torn asunder, or cut in pieces quick by the soldiers, in a way of diversion.

Such were the tender mercies of the Papists towards the most harmless witnesses of Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER II.

Early Introduction of the Gospel into England—Diocletian's Persecution—Pelagius's Errors—Almost utter Ruin of the Church by the Scots and Picts, but especially by the Saxons—Popery introduced and embraced by all the Seven Saxon Kingdoms—Church and Nation terribly unlinged by the Danes.

THE Gospel of Christ was preached in Britain not very long after his ascension to Heaven: but whether by Paul, Joseph of Arimathea, or whom else, we know not. The story of Lucius the British King's request of preaching missionaries from Eleutherus Bishop of Rome, is not in the least probable. While Diocletian the Roman Emperor and his colleague furiously persecuted the Christians on the continent, about A. D. 302. Constantius their Cæsar in Britain, against his will, commanded to pull down the Christian churches. But, as soon as he had it in his power, he restrained his persecution. It is said that, to try his courtiers, who professed themselves Christians, he required them all to offer sacrifice to

the heathen idols, under pain of being deprived of their preferments—and that such of them as stedfastly adhered to their religion he commended and enrolled among his particular friends: such of them as complied with his sinful mandate, he sharply rebuked, as treacherous to their God, and dismissed from his service, as unworthy of trust. In A. D. 314, the Bishops of York, London, and Britannia Secunda, attended the council of Arles in France, which formed several canons, and transmitted them to the Bishop of Rome for his consent to, and observance of them. Whether any British Bishops attended at the council of Nice in A. D. 325, I cannot determine. In 359 three British Bishops, along with many others, at the council of Arimini in Italy, were, by the Emperor Constantius's influence, forced to sign an Arian creed. Perhaps after they came home, they, like their Gallic brethren, returned to their orthodoxy. But it is manifest that, not long after, the British church was infested with the Arian heresy.

About A. D. 400, Pelagius or Morgan, a famed British clergyman, taught that Adam was created naturally mortal; that the hurtful consequences of his first sin affected only himself; that the law qualified men for heaven, and was founded on promises equally good with those of the Gospel; that none can be the children of God unless they be free from sin; that rich men cannot be qualified for the kingdom of God, unless they part with all their wealth to the Lord and to the poor; that man's free will, attended with proper information, is sufficient for every moral action, without any supernatural assistance of God's grace; that God's grace is given to men

in proportion to their desert of it—and that victory over temptation is obtained merely by the freedom of men's own will. His errors being readily received and propagated by multitudes, the orthodox clergy brought over Lupus and Germanicus, French Bishops, to assist them in opposing their progress, and in founding seminaries of learning;—which perhaps occasioned the long continued use of the Gallican liturgy in Britain. The most noted schools founded about this time were those of Dubricius and Illutus, and of the monastery of Bangor.

The British Christians having gradually abandoned themselves to wickedness, God gave them up into the hands of their northern and savage neighbours, the Scots and Picts, who terribly ravaged their country. Their Roman superiors, being no longer able to assist them, they called in the Saxons, who ruled the north parts of Germany. These barbarous heathens had no sooner repressed the Scots and Picts, than they turned their arms against the Britons themselves, and murdered the most of them. In consequence of which, they, with the Christian religion, were almost wholly confined to the principalities of Wales and Cornwall, where St. David and some other clergymen made a respectable figure.

Between A. D. 590 and 600, Augustin, the Romish missionary, Paulin and Aidan, two Scotch preachers, Wilfrid, Bishop of York, and others, by their labours, converted the seven kingdoms, which the Saxons had erected in England, to what they called the *Christian faith*. Augustin's principal aim was, to render them subject to the numerous ceremonies newly imposed by Pope Gregory the great. The Britons, and their Scot-

tish neighbours, were exceedingly averse to part with their Gallican or Grecian rites, in exchange for those of Rome. Dinot and his British brethren, as well as Aidan and Finan, Scotch Presbyters, boldly withstood the introduction of the Papal power or manner of worship into Britain. Wilfrid was no less zealous for the Romish interest, and laboured to have the festival of Easter observed on the day appointed at Rome, it was said, by Peter and Paul; and to introduce the form of clergymen's shaving their heads, in form of a cross. After most furious contentions, the Romish party, assisted by Oswy, Saxon King of Northumberland, gained their point. The same Oswy and Egbert, King of Kent, appointed Wig-hard, the elected Archbishop of Canterbury, to repair to Rome for a pontifical consecration. He dying at Rome, Pope Vitalian furnished the see with the famed and truly sensible Theodore of Tarsus, and sent along with him Adrian a Neapolitan monk, to prevent his introduction of any of his Grecian rites. Theodore having called a council of his Saxon clergy, got them persuaded to unite in a subjection to the Roman Pope, and to receive a settled form of church government. Assisted by the Princes, he drove Wilfrid of York, and several other Bishops from their sees, because they refused to submit to his authority. Wilfrid appealed to the Pontiff, but the Romish decrees in his favour were disregarded in England. The contest for pre-eminence between these two haughty diocesans, continued till the end of the 7th century. Wilfrid led the way of the afterward frequent appealing from the decisions of Canterbury to those of Rome. But many of the Saxon Bishops little regarded

his Holiness's decisions. Others reckoning Rome the fountain of their Christianity, treated them with more respect

Meanwhile, Ina, King of the West Saxons, in a mixed assembly of laics and clergymen, formed his code of seventy-five laws, requiring, that clergymen should live in a canonical manner; that every child should be baptized within thirty days after its birth; that none should transact worldly business on the Lord's day; that the tithes appointed for the clergy should be duly paid; that churches should be sanctuaries for malefactors, as the *cities of refuge* had been under the Old Testament; that murderers might make compensation for their crime to the friends of the persons they had murdered.

After the haughty Wilfrid had, for about forty-six years, plagued the church with his zealous introduction of the Romish day of the celebrating Easter, and of their clerical tonsure of the head; and with his mad promotion of monkish societies, and causing of multitudes rush into them, contrary to every tie or call of affection or duty—and of pilgrimages to the tombs of the apostles at Rome, and had suffered not a little in the cause, he died A. D. 709. About the same time, the English church began to be divided into parishes. Many places of worship had formerly been but chapels of ease, and were supplied with preachers by turns from the neighbouring monasteries, in which bands of clergymen, not in the best manner, lived together. Many of the Scots, Picts, and Irish were prevailed on to receive the Romish season of *Easter*, and their form of clergymen's shaving of their crowns. By the labours and example of venerable Bede; by the

erection of schools, and by the contests between Theodore and the Scots, and, no doubt, by other causes, which we know not, learning prevailed more remarkably in Britain than in any other age before the Norman conquest. Adhelm, Ceolfred, Egbert, Bede, Eddius, Clemens, and Alcuin were their most noted doctors. As yet the English knew nothing of purgatory: they had little reverence for sacred reliques; and opposed the worship of images. The Pope began to send his legates for rectifying disorders among them, and to demand *Peter Pence* for the erection and support of colleges at Rome. But they did not reckon themselves his subjects, nor think his palls necessary or effectual to consecrate an Archbishop. Their Kings divided bishoprics at their pleasure, without regard to his will.

The Danish invasions, together with the almost perpetual contentions between the Saxon Kings, having long rendered the state of the English church and nation exceedingly deplorable, Egbert, King of the West Saxons, whose conquests laid the foundations of the subsequent monarchy, called a council at Calcuith, A. D. 816, which enacted, that the catholic faith and ancient canons should be duly observed; that all churches should be consecrated with sprinkling of holy water as a kind of baptism, and with the administration of the Eucharist by the Bishop of the diocese; that an uniformity of principles and practice, together with the impartial exercise of church government and discipline be carefully maintained; that none but persons of an unblemished character, nominated by the Bishop of the place, with the consent of the convent, should be admitted as abbots or abbesses; that

it being uncertain from whom Scotchmen receive their orders, none of them should officiate as priests in England; that all acts of preceding councils, marked with the sign of the cross, instead of the names of members, should be carefully observed; that no religious house should be alienated to common uses, without extreme necessity, and the consent of the conventuals, and some of them, in no case whatsoever; that all Bishops should have copies of the acts of council; that neither priests nor Bishops should exercise any power, but in their own stations and districts; that the funerals of Bishops should be celebrated answerable to the prescribed form; that the tenth part of their estate should, after their death, be given to the poor, and their English slaves be set at liberty, and, in fine, so many psalms be sung, some masses said, so many prayers and oblations made for the benefit of their departed souls.

After the Danes had almost ruined his kingdom, Alfred, the grandson of Egbert, obtaining the superiority, forced them either to profess themselves Christians or depart the country. He, with great zeal, promoted religion and learning. He bestowed the half of his incomes upon the poor, and on monasteries, students at the university of Oxford, which, it is said, he founded, and indigent foreign churches. By this means he recovered his subjects from their deep ignorance. John Scot (not of Dunse) was his principal teacher. It is said, that he himself translated the New Testament and Psalms into Saxon, for the use of his subjects.

In the *tenth* century the repeated ravages of the Danes again reduced England to the utmost

confusion and misery. Religion, learning, and almost every thing amiable were neglected. In A. D. 928, we find a synod at Graetly, under King Athelstan, the principal acts of which related to regular payment of tithes; provisions for the poor, and for parochial clergy; prohibition and punishment of breaking into churches, sorcery, witchcraft, theft, robbery, merchandize on Sabbath, perjury, manslaughter;—together with directions for Bishops to attend the courts of justice, and oversee and direct their procedure, and that of the subordinate clergy with respect to their religious ministrations. About A. D. 942, Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, established other ten canons, asserting the sacred privileges of churches; the freedom of ecclesiastical revenues from all civil taxation;—admonishing the King and his nobles to shew themselves exemplary in honouring clergymen, ministering justice, and providing for the poor;—directing Bishops, clergy, and monks, to promote religion in their respective stations;—prohibiting incestuous marriages, or violation of nuns;—exhorting Christians in general to cultivate an unity becoming such as had one Lord, and held the same faith;—and to observe sacred festivals, pay tithes, and avoid superstition. Dunstan, having commenced primate of the English church, abandoned himself to covetousness, pride, and sedition, and was twice banished for his crimes. He violently exerted himself to drive the secular canons from their monasteries, and place his own monkish brethren in their room. Instigated by his influence, Edgar, an absolute monster of lewdness, rebelled against King Edwy, his brother, and obtained part of his kingdom, and

afterward fell heir to the rest. He, with all his might, assisted Dunstan of Canterbury, Oswald of Worcester, and Ethelwald of Winchester, in extruding the canons, and in forcing the clergy to live unmarried. He and Dunstan made two new systems of *constitutions*, one of sixty-five, and another of six, relating to the payment of tithes, the behaviour of clergymen, &c. Dunstan, Oswald, and Adulf, by their holding a plurality of sees, occasioned no small contention.—After Dunstan had directed King Edgar and Edward his son as he pleased, King Ethelred quite disregarded him, as did almost all his subjects. Perhaps this general contempt, together with grief, that almost all his schemes in favour of the monks were overturned, hastened his death; and he was some time after canonized and worshipped as a saint.

In the *eleventh* century, Alfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the *homilies* which he translated, and in the letters which he wrote to his clergy, plainly affirmed, that the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper are but *signs and seals* of his body and blood; that communicating at Easter is no more profitable than at any other season; and that there ought to be no *solitary* communicating of the priests. He urged his clergy to live unmarried, but did not pretend that marriage was unlawful; nor did he persecute such as were guilty of it. Elfeg, his successor, is chiefly famous for his heroic and Christian manner of enduring horrid abuse, imprisonment, and death from the Danish invaders, whom he had exhorted to use the conquered English with humanity.—To satisfy the justice of God for his own and his father's injustice and murder of the Saxon royal family, Ca-

nute, now Danish Monarch of England, squandered away his revenues in rebuilding and endowing monasteries. To quicken the languishing zeal of his subjects, he travelled in pilgrimage to Rome; and, and it is said, procured some useless bulls in their favour. His sons Harold and Hardy-Canute being quickly cut off, the crown, which they had acquired by so much fraud and murder, reverted to Edward the Confessor, the son of Edmond, and brother to the Saxon lineal heir. He advanced Robert the Norman to the see of Canterbury. By his going to Rome for his pall, and by his haughty and imprudent behaviour towards the English, and filling every important station with Normans, he quickly became an object of general abhorrence. Stigand his successor, had no such remarkable attachment to Rome. Harold, the brother of the infamous Confessor, having seized the throne from his nephew, was soon after killed in battle, and with him ended the royalty of the Saxons, A. D. 1066, after it had continued about six hundred years.

William, Duke of Normandy, the conqueror, took possession of the English throne; and to fix his family on it, he laboured to fill the principal posts of both church and state with his Norman countrymen, and to introduce their language into the nation. The famed Pope Gregory VII. being bent to wrest all investitures in bishopricks by the collation of *ring and crosier*, from the impure hands of magistrates, he deposed one English Bishop for receiving them from King William, and another for his illegitimate birth; but Lanfrank of Canterbury got them restored. Palls from Rome now began to be thought

necessary for the consecration of Bishops. By the most peremptory restraint of clerical marriages and laical investitures, Gregory intended to render clergymen perfectly independent on civil rulers, and absolute slaves of the Roman see. William and Lanfrank pretended to relish his project, but expressed themselves with great caution. After the Danish wars and Norman oppressions had long interrupted the meeting of English Councils, Lanfrank assembled one at London, about A. D. 1080. It consisted of an archdeacon, a church officer then little known in England, twelve Bishops, and twenty-one Abbots. It, in part, confirmed the order of Benedictine monks; appointed the Bishops' seats to be fixed in the most conspicuous place of their diocese; changed some sees; prohibited marriage to the seventh degree of consanguinity; condemned simony, divination, and magic; revived the ancient *canons* of the English church; and prohibited clergymen to judge in causes of blood. Another council was held in the next year, which prohibited clerical marriage; established archdeacons; restored the blessing of the marriages of the laity to the priests; and denounced punishments against all such as should behave rudely towards religion or clergymen.

Gregory, by Hubert his legate, required King William to pay up the arrears of *Peter Pence* due by his kingdom, and to take an oath of fidelity to the Roman see. William consented to the first; but commanded Hubert to inform his Holiness that he held his crown of none but God and his sword; and he would never render it dependent on any other. Suspecting that Lanfrank had encouraged William in his disobedience,

ence, Gregory cited him to Rome : but, being fortified by the royal prohibition, he declined the journey. Being threatened by Gregory's legate, William commanded his subjects to acknowledge no Pope, but whom he allowed, and to receive no mandate from Rome without his leave. Finding William no less haughty and determined than himself, Gregory laboured, by a mixture of flattery and threatening, to render him more pliable.—He assembled a council at Rome, and required the Western Bishops to attend it. But not one from England durst go up ; nor did they send their excuse. William having formerly reduced the lands of Abbots and Bishops in Normandy to much the same taxes as those of his other subjects, and obliged themselves to personal services, in attending his councils, &c. he, to the no small offence of the English clergy, reduced their lands and persons to the same condition. Enraged with the news of this, Gregory commanded Lanfrank, his minister of state, to repair to Rome, under pain of suspension from his office of Archbishop. Lanfrank sent off a justification of his conduct ; but was too wise to go thither himself. So much did William disregard Gregory, one of the most enterprising Popes that ever filled the Romish see, that all his supplication and flattery could not, for six years, procure the release from prison of Odo, Bishop of Bay-eaux in Normandy.—The ejection of the *secular canons* and *clergy* from the monasteries, had formerly occasioned terrible commotions. Now, the exemption of monasteries from the Bishops' jurisdiction, in which both William and Gregory had their own influence and ends, occasioned no small noise. Having enacted, that

spiritual causes should only be judged in clerical courts, William, abandoned by all his principal officers, that they might make their court to his sons, died A. D. 1087.

By the interest and activity of Lanfrank, William Rufus his second son succeeded him. He regarded the archbishop or other clergymen no longer then he needed their assistance. He seized the vacant benefices for himself; and for that end kept the see of Canterbury several years vacant. Falling dangerously sick, about four years after the death of Lanfrank, he professed himself a penitent, promised to reform his practice, and, to atone for his former sins, bestowed some lands upon the church. He filled the see of Canterbury with the famous Anselm, a Norman abbot, and that of Lincoln with one Bloet his chancellor. Happening to recover, he heartily repented of his conduct, and resolved to make the new bishops pay for their advancement. Anselm had too much of the haughty dignified clergyman, to comply with any thing contrary to his own inclination.—Highly offended with him, for refusing to assist him with money in his war with his brother, and for acknowledging Urban as Pope, before he had declared his mind on that point, William offered to Urban to acknowledge his disputed authority, providing he would send him a pall for a new archbishop of Canterbury. Urban's legate having first got William to acknowledge his master's pontifical right, gave the pall to Anselm, who stubbornly refused to receive it from the hand of the king. Not long after, the Papal council of Clermont in France, prohibited all laical investiture of bishops or abbots. Having, on several occasions,

insultingly desired his majesty's allowance to repair to Rome for the welfare of his soul, and the good of the church, Anselm, contrary to his own solemn oath, and to William's express prohibition, set off. William laid him under a sentence of banishment, and seized on his revenues. At Rome, Anselm had his feet kissed, and was revered almost on a level with Urban himself, while William was declared worthy of excommunication. As Anselm had assisted in this, William disregarded his missives; and with reluctance received those of the Pope.

William dying A. D. 1100, and Robert his elder brother being employed in the sacred, but truly Papal and detestable war with the Mahometans in Palestine, Henry, the younger, seized on the English throne. To secure the favour of the Pope, he recalled Anselm to his former station. Returning more full of pride and bigotry, than he had gone off, he, directed by the Romish council, refused to pay any homage to Henry, and told him, that he would not stay in England, if he should confer any clerical investitures, as he could hold no communion with either the giver or the receivers. Meanwhile, Pascal, the Pope, taking advantage of Anselm's embroilment with Henry, sent over his legate to render the Canterburian primacy more dependent on Rome. Henry and his council wisely assisted Anselm in this matter, and forced the legate to return, before he had avowed his commission. Prince Robert being on the point of invading the kingdom, Henry, to prevent Anselm's joining him, after no small shifting, promised to part with the right of investing bishops or abbots; but, having made

peace with Robert, he resolved to retain it. To put Anselm, who had, in his councils, strenuously contended for a ratification of the decrees of Gregory and Urban, out of the way, he sent him to Rome, to beg from his Holiness that right of investitures, either simply or as a particular favour ; but sent Warewalst, elected bishop of Exeter, along with him, with secret instructions.—Pascal declared the right of investiture sacred and unalienable from the church. Anselm heartily acquiesced ; but Warewalst boldly pled for his master, and at last told his Holiness, that Henry would rather part with his crown than with his right ; and finding Pascal no less determined in his measures, he, in Henry's name, prohibited Anselm to return to England. Henry justified Warewalst's conduct, and seized on the temporalities of Anselm's archbishopric. While the canons relative to investitures and clerical celibate, which Anselm had got enacted in his synod of Westminster, lay disregarded in England, Warewalst persuaded Pascal to mark an indifference towards him at Rome. Provoked herewith, Anselm left Rome, and retired to Blois in France, where he told Henry's sister, that he behoved to excommunicate him. Henry having marched to Normandy, to wrest it from Robert his elder brother, patched up a peace with Anselm ; and the Pope completed it by appointing, That bishops and abbots, upon their election, should do homage to Henry ; that Anselm should consecrate these bishops which Henry had already invested, and Henry should renounce all right to invest any more. Both Henry and Anselm explained this agreement in their own favour, as much as they could. Anselm

then applied himself to erect the new bishopric of Ely, and to persecute the married clergy, whom he owned to be the best and most numerous; but death cut him short. Learning, pride, and mad zeal for clerical celibate and papal power, were the distinguishing lines of his character.

Henry immediately resumed his wonted powers, and invested the new archbishop of Canterbury, and only sent to Rome for his pall. He afterward assisted him in hindering the Pope's legate to exercise his power in England. To revenge this insult of his authority, his Holiness supported Thurstan, archbishop of York, in refusing subjection to the Primate of Canterbury. Observing that his subjects marked a regard for William his nephew in Normandy, Henry became more tractable. Pope Honorius sent John of Crema his legate, who persuaded the archbishop of Canterbury to summon a council at Westminster. Henry having, in his perplexity, surrendered his right of investitures, the whole English clergy became the slaves and dependents of the Pope. At the council, the legate sat on a kind of throne above the bishops and nobility. He declaimed with great warmth against the abominable nature of clerical marriage, or ministers' intimacy with their own wives; and that very night he was taken in bed with an harlot. The Canterburian primate repaired to Rome, and complained of the legantine mission, as an encroachment upon his authority. Romish flattery persuaded him to return, invested with legantine power over all Britain, and so laid the foundation of complete slavery to Rome in that island. To manifest his new powers, he called a Synod, and, in his holiness' name, ratified seve-

ral of the canons made by Anselm and John of Crema.

As Henry had robbed his elder brother of the crown, he was no sooner dead, than Stephen, his sister's son, contrary to his thrice repeated oath of allegiance to Maud his daughter, now empress of Germany, seized on it. To confirm himself in his usurpation, he spared no promises to either clergy or laity. Cringing to the Pope, he admitted his legate, who not only held councils in his name, but caused the monks of Canterbury elect their archbishop, without regarding Stephen's consent.—The bishop of Winchester being made legate, not only called the primate to his bar; but required Stephen himself to answer for his imprisonment of some bishops, and seizing on their revenues.—While a most bloody and barbarous war between the partizans of Maud the empress, and those of Stephen, threw the nation into the utmost confusion, Pope Innocent constituted Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, and his successors *perpetual legates* of the Roman see, that nothing might be transacted but under pretence of legantine power. Stephen's own brother, bishop of Winchester, was invested with similar authority. His versatile changing of parties was extremely remarkable. At first, he took part with Stephen his brother. Next he got the Empress elected and enthroned, and consigned all the friends of Stephen to the devil and his angels. And after all, assisted in restoring Stephen to his throne. After much contention with his fellow legate, Theobald of Canterbury repaired to the Papal Synod of Rheims. Stephen prohibited him to return, as he had gone off without his permission. To revenge this af-

front, Theobald, as well as the Pope, took part with the empress, and, returning to England, he laid that part of it which acknowledged Stephen's authority, under an *Interdict* of public worship. The contending parties, wearied of the war, came to an accommodation : but Theobald, directed by his Holiness, refused to crown the son of Stephen, who had, contrary to his oath, seized on the crown.

Amidst these calamities, and to the infinite vexation of the bishops, the monks, by their charters, and by exemptions purchased at Rome, had gotten themselves freed from their jurisdiction, and quickly after obtained mitres and other badges of episcopal dignity for their abbots. They soon felt, that the Pope's immediate jurisdiction was harder than that of their diocesan bishops. By journies to Rome upon the election of every new abbot, one of which cost about L.2000 Sterling,—and to obtain pontifical decisions of their frequent contests, they were put to insupportable expenses. They were rendered slaves to the Pope and his legates ; they were exposed to the hatred of their sovereigns, and involved in perpetual quarrels with the bishops ; and even the prosecution for justice at such a distant court, was a severe punishment.

Henry II. the Empress' son, having obtained the throne, A. D. 1154, he applied himself to rectify the disorders of his kingdom. The monks had not finished their struggle for an independence on the bishops. But Pope Adrian, who was an Englishman, diverted Henry from attending to it, by complimenting him with the savage kingdom of Ireland, providing he could conquer it. The Irish primates had all been married. The son had succeeded the father for

fifteen generations. None of their four Metropolitans had ever purchased a pall from Rome. These things made Adrian reckon them most brutish barbarians. Invited to the assistance of Dermot king of Leinster, who had drawn a war upon himself by his adulterous carrying off of the wife of his fellow king of Breffney, Henry soon made a kind of conquest of Ireland. About the same time, he made Thomas Becket his chancellor, on the recommendation of Theobald of Canterbury, for whom Becket's address at Rome had procured the legantine power, in opposition to his rival of Winchester. About A. D. 1160, thirty persons of both sexes, esteemed heretics, landed in England from Germany. Henry called a council at Oxford to examine their opinions. It is said they were all extremely simple, except Gerard their chief. We know not what their real opinions were ; but the council, delivering them up to the secular power, Henry commanded them to be branded with a hot iron in their forehead, and whipped out of Oxford ; and prohibited all his subjects to give them any meat, drink, or lodging. Being the depth of winter, they perished with hunger and cold ; and it is said, underwent their sufferings with great patience and cheerfulness.

Contrary to Theobald's advice, Henry resolved to restrict the clerical power. Expecting that Becket, whom he had loaded with favours, and who seemed to be far removed from monkish devotion, would assist him in it, he got him made archbishop of Canterbury after Theobald's death. Becket soon after attended Pope Alexander in the council of Tours, A. D. 1163, and secretly resigned his archbishoprick into his hands, and

received it back from him.—What remorse he pretended for receiving it by Henry's influence and the investiture from his hand, I know not. But it is probable, that he and the Pope planned their scheme of rendering the English clergy perfectly independent on the state. Not long after his return, he delivered to Satan a nobleman, who had dared to oppose the entrance of one, whom he had presented to the rectory of Aynesford. Henry was highly offended, that one of his crown officers should have been thus excommunicated without his knowledge. About twenty years before, it had been decreed, that such as laid violent hands on any clergyman, should never be absolved by any but the Pope, and in his presence. The clergy were now strongly, but cunningly instigated to render themselves subjects to none but the vicar of Christ. To honour Anselm for his zealous invasion of the royal power, Becket got him solemnly canonized for a SAINT. This inflamed his clerical brethren to follow his steps, in hopes of a like glorious reward.

The clergy, having obtained the sole jurisdiction over their own body, abandoned themselves more and more to murders, and other horrid enormities. Of an hundred clerical murderers, not so much as one was punished with degradation from his office. Highly offended herewith, Henry commanded, That all such clergymen as should be apprehended in acts of felony, murder, burning of houses, or the like, should be carried before the civil judges and punished as others; but Becket withstood his orders with the utmost firmness and violence. The clerical boldness in wickedness still more abounding, Henry having assembled a council of his Lords spiritual and

temporal, at Westminster, proposed to them five Constitutions extracted from the customs of Henry his grandfather, *viz.* That none should appeal to the Roman see without the king's consent ; that no bishop or archbishop should leave the kingdom without his majesty's consent ; that no crown officer or immediate vassal of the king should be excommunicated without his knowledge ; that clergymen charged with capital crimes should be judged in the king's courts ; that repairing of churches, taking of tithes, and other ecclesiastical affairs of general concern, shall be judged in the civil courts : These articles were heartily approved by the nobles ; but the bishops and abbots obstinately refused their consent, unless this all-enervating clause, *saving the rights of the clergy*, should be added. Henry threatening effectually to humble their pride, all of them, except *Becket*, yielded ; and at last the Pope's legate persuaded him to feign his consent.

Having got these articles unanimously established, Henry called another council of his Lords spiritual and temporal at Clarendon for extracting and confirming the laws of his grandfather. Sixteen articles were formed, bearing, That all differences relative to the right of patronage should be tried in the civil courts ; that no churches which are fees of the crown can be disposed of in perpetual donation without the king's consent ; that all clergymen charged with crimes against the laws, shall appear before the Lord Chief Justice, as well as before the ecclesiastical courts, and none of them after conviction be protected by the church ; that no clergymen shall go out of the kingdom without his majesty's con-

sent, and their giving proper security of their doing nothing to the prejudice of him or his subjects; that accusations of laymen in ecclesiastical courts, shall be proved by reputable witnesses, and whom the sheriffs shall oblige to attend, if necessary; that excommunicated persons shall not be obliged to continue on the spot where they lived formerly, but only to abide the judgment of the church; that none who immediately hold of the king, or any of his barons, shall be excommunicated, or their estate laid under an interdict, without first acquainting him or his Chief Justice, if himself be out of the kingdom; that none shall appeal from the archbishop's court, without his majesty's consent; that bishops and abbots must perform the services annexed to their tenures, when required by his justices or ministers,—and must be present at all trials, except when sentences of blood, or of losing life or limb, are to be pronounced; that the revenues of all vacant bishoprics, abbies, or priories, of a royal foundation, shall be paid into the king's exchequer; that the king shall have the power of convening the electors of bishops, abbots, and priors, and the elected must do homage to him before their consecration; that he shall punish every wrong done to the superior clergy, and they shall prosecute such as injure him; that no goods of forfeited persons shall be protected from his seizure, in churches or church-yards; that all pleas of debt shall be tried in civil courts; that the sons of copy-holders are not to be ordained clergymen, without consent of the Lord of the manor in which they were born, &c. The council unanimously agreed to these counstitutions. But Becket refused to sign them with his epis-

copal seal, and not long after suspended himself from the exercise of his office, and imposed a penance on himself for sinfully consenting to them.

Henry dealt with Alexander III. who had been advanced to the Popedom by his influence, to ratify the above constitutions, and to constitute the archbishop of York his legate. Alexander, instead of this, laboured to reconcile him to Becket, and constituted Henry himself his legate, providing he should not use his power against Becket. Henry rejected the office of pontifical deputy with great indignation, and resolved to humble Becket. He caused him to be prosecuted for holding a royal manor; for converting to his own use the revenues of the archbishopric of York, and of some other bishoprics; and for embezzling L.30,000 of the public money, when he was chancellor. Becket appealed to the Pope as his sole judge, and refused so much as to converse with Henry on their points of difference. Henry got him accused as a fugitive from justice, and disobedient to his sovereign,—and afterwards of perjury and high treason. No persuasions of his fellow bishops could make Becket yield an hair-breadth. He insulted both them and his sovereign. They pronounced him guilty of perjury in breaking his oath of allegiance, and cited him to appear before his Holiness to answer for his conduct. When the temporal Lords told him, that by refusing to submit to their authority, he involved himself in treason, he boasted, that were it not for his character, he would, in a duel, vindicate himself against any one of them who durst charge him with a crime. He fled to France, where king Lewis, instead of banishing him, as Henry de-

sired, protected him, and recommended his cause to the Roman court. Henry hoped, that Alexander would have gratefully befriended him, and at least persuaded Becket to resign his see. But neither his former favours nor his pompous embassy had any such effect on the Pope. He and Becket declared ten of the constitutions of Clarendon NULL and *void*, and threatened to excommunicate all such as should maintain them. Becket then resigned his authority into the hands of the Pontiff. But Alexander, unwilling to have his faithful servant run down by the civil power, and fearing that his submission might issue in the reduction of the Papal power, restored him to his office, and promised to assist him in it to his uttermost.

The contest between Henry and Becket became more and more serious. Henry published a proclamation, banishing all the relations of Becket; and commanding to seize all the revenues of his see for public use; and prohibiting all correspondence with either him or Pope Alexander; and declaring it high treason to bring any bull of excommunication or any Interdict from ANY of them, &c. Becket excommunicated all such as adhered to the Constitutions of Clarendon; and some of Henry's more active lords or ministers were mentioned by name. In a number of missives to Henry himself he mingled threatenings with argument. He did all that he could, to seduce clergymen and others from their allegiance. But those of the province of Canterbury remained deaf to all his solicitations. Suspecting that Lewis of France fomented their differences, Henry levied an army to prevent an attack from France, or a revolt of his

own subjects. The clergy of the province of Canterbury dealt very plainly with his Holiness, and represented to him the ingratitude and irregularity of his conduct. Convinced by the influence of Henry's presents, and by his own fears, that he might join the German emperor, another disobedient son, Alexander appointed his legates to repair to England, and there judge between him and Becket. Becket raved like a madman, as if Christianity would have been ruined along with his loss of his cause. Nor could his friends persuade him to resign his primacy on condition of Henry's giving up the *Constitutions of Clarendon*. Thus matters proceeded, till about 1167, that Becket insisted for a pontifical ratification of the excommunication which he had passed against the observers of the constitutions of Clarendon; and for his Holiness' allowance to consign Henry into the hands of the devil. Alexander informed Henry, that his allowance for his excommunication could not be long delayed, unless he should repent. Hitherto neither Becket nor Alexander had profited much by their quarrel. The former had languished in exile, and the latter had been deprived of his revenues in England. But now, while Lewis of France invaded Henry's dominions in Normandy, Alexander manifested an uncommon regard to Becket, and confirmed to him all the privileges he had formerly enjoyed. To revenge this, Henry entered into a league with the German emperor, who hated Alexander, and if the nation could have borne it, he would have renounced Alexander's spiritual headship, and acknowledged Pascal his rival. Being informed, that the English were firmly attached to his in-

terests, Alexander caused the bishop of London to admonish Henry, and in his name require him to restore Becket, and annul the *constitutions of Clarendon*. The bishop having mildly executed his commission, represented to his Holiness, in Henry's name, That he inclined to continue his obedient son, providing he behaved as a spiritual father ; and that nothing hindered Becket's return, providing he desisted from opposing the royal prerogative and laws of the land, to which he had sworn subjection. Reckoning this missive injurious to his character, Becket consigned the writer into the hands of the devil, and notified the same to his clerical brethren. Finding that this contest retarded his conquest of Ireland, Henry became more and more anxious to have it made up. In an interview, which he had with Lewis, for establishing peace between them, he persuaded him, that it was only Becket's pride and obstinacy that prevented a reconciliation with him. Both French and English nobility exclaimed against him, as intolerably perverse, and unfit to be protected in either kingdom. Regardless of this, Becket delivered up the English bishops and other clergymen to Satan in such multitudes, that Henry had scarcely enow to officiate in his chapels. Enraged by this, Henry assured his Holiness, that unless he immediately sent his legates to absolve his clergy, and decide the debate between him and Becket, he would secure the peace and honour of his kingdom in a manner less agreeable to his wishes. Alarmed with this plain dealing, Alexander immediately dispatched his legates to England, with flattering letters to Henry, bearing, That they had full power to terminate the differences, and absolve

the excommunicated. But he privately assured Becket, that he would take care of his interests; and advised him to dissemble for a little time. He gave the legates secret instructions, to give no decision, without first acquainting the archbishop of Sens in France, who was a trusty friend of Becket. The legates therefore cavilled at every thing which Henry proposed. Observing their conduct, Henry threatened to do himself justice by another method. They replied, that they feared none of his threatenings, as they belonged to a court which had been accustomed to command kings and emperors.

Not long after, Lewis procured another meeting between Henry and Becket, in order to have them reconciled. Henry offered to Becket a full restoration of all his dignities and privileges, and a thousand marks to defray the expence of his voyage. Becket pretended that he had suffered 30,000 marks of damage, all which he must have refunded to him.—Finding no hope of his submission, Henry sent a messenger to Pope Alexander, offering him as much money as would clear his extensive debts, and 10,000 marks more, providing that he would translate Becket to some other see, and remove him from France to Rome. Alexander would do no more than send other legates to mediate a peace between them. But as Becket refused to promise any obedience to the king's laws, but what consisted with the privileges of the Pope, and the liberty of the church, this attempt also proved fruitless.

Finding Henry extremely tenacious of his rights, the Roman court resolved to humble him by force, as they had just done Frederic, the German emperor. To prepare their way, they

every where represented him and his laws as extremely detestable, and extolled Becket as an almost unparalleled saint and confessor. Three legates were then appointed to excommunicate Henry, and lay his kingdom under an Interdict. Informed of their intentions, Henry renounced the authority of both Pope and Archbishop, and prohibited all his English subjects to receive any of their mandates. He ordained, that no Peter-pence should be paid without his warrant; that all the clergy that were out of the kingdom should immediately return, under pain of forfeiting all their revenues; that none should submit to any letter of Interdict, under pain of being hanged on the spot as traitors to their king and country. To establish his family on the throne, he, in a crowded assembly of his principal subjects, caused Henry his eldest son to be crowned by the archbishop of York, and to swear that he would inviolably observe the ancient customs. Becket loudly complained of injury done him,—pretending, that the coronation indispensibly belonged to the archbishop of Canterbury. Alexander quickly consigned over the archbishop of York, and all other bishops who had assisted at the coronation, to the devil and his angels, and threatened to do the same with Henry himself, if he did not, without delay, make peace with Becket, who at the same time notified, that he would lay the kingdom under an Indertict of all public worship, if he was not reconciled within fifteen days. Afraid of a fate like to that of the German emperor, or of trouble to his young son, or perhaps of Papal damnation to his soul, in the future state, Henry, newly recovered from a violent fever, had two meetings with Becket in the

presence of king Lewis, in the last of which he yielded all that Becket demanded. However heartily Henry had forgiven the injuries done him, Becket, now rendered more proud than ever, prosecuted his resentments. He always went attended by an armed guard; and in this manner attempted to enter the palace of the young king. He prosecuted the Pope's excommunication of his fellow bishops. They fled from England to Henry in Normandy, and represented Becket as a public incendiary, a persecutor of clergymen, and a determined enemy of his king, and a destroyer of all good men that came in his way. Henry, in his outrageous passion, said, that it was strange, that not one of his numerous dependents had courage to avenge him of a single priest, who braved and sought to depose and disinherit him.—Four gentlemen of his household, moved by this furious expression, hasted to England, and murdered Becket while he was officiating in his cathedral.

The Romish court no sooner heard of it, than they resolved to revenge his death in the most terrible manner. The French king, the bishop of Sens, and others, charged Henry with it; and care was taken to proclaim it in the most horrid forms through all Christendom. Henry was threatened with excommunication, and his kingdom with an Interdict, unless he should speedily give sufficient evidence of his repentance. He dispatched his ambassadors to the several foreign courts to disown the fact, and to declare his detestation of it. These sent to Rome were at first rudely maltreated, and had audience denied them: but a present of five hundred marks Sterling opened their way to his Holiness' ear. Their

promise that Henry would submit to the judgment of the church, prevented his consignation to Satan, and the interdiction of public worship in his kingdom. Legates were dispatched to England to absolve him. They collected all the depositions they could to prove him guilty; but finding none to their purpose, they allowed him at last to clear himself by oath, that he had neither commanded nor assented to the assassination. They then accommodated matters with him, on condition that he should never withdraw his subjection from Pope Alexander and his successors, while they acknowledged him a catholic sovereign; that in all ecclesiastical causes he should allow appeals to Rome; that he should serve three years in the sacred war against the Infidels in Palestine, unless dispensed with by the Pope, and should maintain two hundred men for that service; that he should fully pardon all the adherents of Becket, and restore the see of Canterbury every thing that had been taken from it during his exile; and that he should annul all laws and customs which he had introduced to the hurt of the church;—to which was added this secret article, That he should go barefooted to Becket's tomb, and ask pardon, and endure a sound whipping from all the Canterburian monks. Upon these conditions, Henry obtained pardon of a crime of which they had first caused him swear himself innocent, when they could find no proof of it. To magnify Becket, they gave out, that his dead body wrought more miracles than Christ and all his apostles had wrought for the confirmation of Christianity itself; and many thousands of mad devotees yearly visited his tomb.

The monks of Canterbury appeared to inherit his ambitious and obstinate temper. They claimed the sole power of electing his successor; and carried their point against both their kings. Richard, whom they elected, was scarcely consecrated, when, in his council at Westminster, he got eighteen *canons* enacted, importing, That no clergymen should marry; that no sons should succeed their fathers in spiritual functions; that no clergymen should frequent public houses, unless when on journeys; that none of them should assist in the judgment of capital crimes; and that no money should be taken for the *holy chrism*, or *baptism*, or any other sacrament. Richard's next work was a furious dispute concerning jurisdiction with Roger of York, which issued in mutual blows. Meanwhile, the Pope's legate persuaded Henry to exempt clergymen from all civil judgment, except with respect to some services, and the abuse of forests. In consequence of this, they became the absolute slaves of the Pope, and almost perpetually contested with the laity, in order to enslave the whole kingdom.

Alexander called a council at Rome, A. D. 1179, and required the Western bishops to attend it. Four English bishops repaired to it. But Richard, mindful of some offence which his Holiness had given him, in taking part with his opponent Prior of the monks, went not. They prohibited the secular powers to judge any clergyman, under pain of excommunication,—or to impose any tax upon them, unless they generously offered their assistance, and the laity were incapable to bear the necessary burdens. They

required all Christian princes to extirpate heretics,—to prevent their living under their jurisdiction,—and to confiscate their goods, and render their persons slaves. They decreed the same privileges as to the sacred warriors in Palestine, to all such as should take arms against them.—These laws were reckoned the more necessary, as the Waldenses had exceedingly increased, and spread themselves in several places of Europe. The monks of Malmsbury's withdrawal of themselves from under their Bishop of Salisbury, and their forging of a charter for defending their disobedience, drew from Archbishop Richard a sensible remonstrance to the Pope. Much about the same time, in a letter to one of his suffragans, he laments that the English clergy had wickedly subjected themselves to the Pope instead of their lawful Sovereign, in consequence of which, one might murder as many clergymen as he pleased; and then, by prostitution of an amiable wife, or by a little money, purchase his absolution from a priest.

While Lucius, the Papal successor of Alexander, was busy demanding assistance from England, to depress the senate and people at Rome, the monks of Canterbury, by King Richard's entreaties, and other like methods, elected Baldwin their Archbishop. He attempted to erect a college for the *secular canons* at his see: but his Holiness, instigated by the monks, caused him to demolish it, and hallow the ground. At last the mob, instigated by the monks, pulled down the buildings, and the Archbishop, with the materials, laid the foundation of the palace of Lambeth, which the Pope also ordered to be demo-

lished. Meanwhile, great preparations were made for a mad warlike expedition to Palestine.

King Richard I. dying, his brother John succeeded him A. D. 1199. Contrary to his inclination, the monks of St. David elected one Girald for their Bishop. He posted to Rome for confirmation; and, by his large offers, thought to have been created an archbishop of Wales. But King John and the Archbishop defeated his project; and another was made bishop. Much about the same time, Pope Innocent III. finding the Western churches sufficiently entangled in his yoke, appointed a general valuation of their revenues, and the fortieth part of them to be granted for carrying on the sacred war. The Archbishop of York prohibited the lifting of this tax in his diocese, excommunicated the officers that levied it, and laid the country under an interdict because they would not oppose them; but he was obliged to yield. The monks having seized upon the rectorship of Feversham, before the King's presentee had got possession of it, Innocent took their part. Several who had enlisted themselves for the *sacred war* drawing back, Innocent appointed the Bishops to excommunicate them by name, every Sabbath, and obliged King John, notwithstanding his deep poverty, to give the fortieth part of his revenues for carrying on that mad war.

Hubert, the excellent Archbishop of Canterbury, dying, the monks of that place chose Reginald, their sub-prior, to succeed him. He immediately posted to Rome for confirmation; and notwithstanding that he had given his solemn oath to his electors, that he would not reveal his election till they should allow him, he no sooner got

over the channel, than he every where assumed the dignity of archbishop in his way to Rome. Provoked with his impiety and imprudence, or fearing the King's displeasure, the prevalent party of monks in the convent, begged his Majesty's leave to choose a new archbishop. Appeased by their submission, John recommended Gray, Bishop of Norwich, to their choice; and at his own expense posted off a number of the monks to obtain his confirmation at Rome, while the Bishops dispatched their proxies to complain, that they had been deprived of their right in the election. The Romish court welcomed all parties; but Innocent quickly determined against the Bishops, and adjudged the whole right of election to the chapter of monks belonging to the see. King John having taken an oath of the monks whom he had sent to Rome, that they would choose none but Gray of Norwich, thought himself safe to assure the Pope that he would acknowledge any whom the convent should elect. Promising to absolve them from their oath, Innocent obliged the monks, under pain of excommunication, to choose one Stephen Langton, a native of England, but a member of the Roman court; and pretending that there was no need of Princes' consent in his Holiness' presence, he immediately consecrated him.

John was altogether enraged to find one wholly attached to the French interest placed in this important station. He drove out the Canterburian monks for electing their sub-prior without his knowledge. He threatened the Pope, that if he got not his will in this matter, he would prohibit every future appeal from England to the Roman see. Innocent boldly replied, that

he would but involve himself in inextricable difficulties if he dared to oppose the Vicar of Christ, to whom every knee must bow. By his command, the Bishops of London and Worcester laid the English nation under an interdict of divine worship, except baptism of children, taking of confessions, and giving the sacrament to dying persons. In consequence of this, their dead were buried in ditches and highways like brutes; their churches were shut up, and their altars forsaken. Had John turned his resentment wholly against the Roman court, he might perhaps have carried his point. But his seizing of bishoprics, abbeys, and ecclesiastical revenues, and requiring his subjects to renew their oath of allegiance, and many of his nobles to give hostages for their fidelity, gave great offence. Informed of these ferments, Innocent delivered him up to the devil; and by flattering missives laboured to secure the favour of his offended nobles and clergy. John granted the bishopric of Lincoln to Wells, his chancellor, and commanded him to receive consecration not from Langton, but from the Bishop of Rhoan in Normandy. Wells, considering himself as now subject to another head, repaired directly to Langton for consecration. John, in his rage, immediately seized the temporalities of his bishopric: nevertheless Wells' duplicity made him suspicious of every body about him, and ready to hearken to every term of accommodation. He offered to admit Langton, archbishop; to recal the banished bishops; restore the monks of Canterbury, and obey the directions of his Holiness, *saving to himself and heirs the rights of the crown*. Nothing less than a total surrender of himself and all his preroga-

tives to their mercy, could content Innocent and Langton. A conversation between John and Pandulf, Innocent's legate, in order to reconciliation, proved quite unsuccessful. Innocent and his party did every thing in their power to render John odious. They represented him as an enemy to the rights of the church and nation. Peter, an hermit, was employed to foretel, that his royal dignity should cease before next *ascension day*, and none of his posterity ever wear the crown. This exceedingly hurt him among his credulous subjects. Meanwhile it was decreed at Rome, that he should be deposed, and another substituted in his stead. Having published this sentence, Innocent laboured to engage Philip of France to dethrone him, promising him a throne in the heavenly paradise, and the crown of England in *fee simple* to him and his heirs, if he did. He dispersed his missives and agents all over Europe to persuade his infatuated votaries, that it would be an eminent service done to God and religion to cut off this contumacious Prince, and enslave the kingdom of England to the holy see; and he promised full pardon of sin, and all other immunities granted to the sacred warriors in Palestine, to all such as should assist in this work.

Philip, with great zeal, prepared for attacking his English neighbour, and John raised an army to defend his own rights. But, terrified by Innocent's menacing letter, and by Pandulf's exaggerated accounts of the French army, John consented to deliver up his kingdom to the Pope, as the only means of protecting it, and to receive it back as a fief of the holy see; to do homage for it to Innocent, and give him his oath of sub-

jection, and resign into his hand all the patronages belonging to the crown—and, after all, to declare solemnly, that he did all this of his own *free will*, and with the advice and consent of his barons. This was all performed on the Monday before *ascension day*, in the presence of multitudes. Having got his ends accomplished, Pandulf, contrary to his promise, privately slept off, leaving John in the hands of the devil, and the whole nation under interdict. King Philip was highly provoked by the Pope's mandate to stop his warlike expedition; but being unwilling to draw the curse of Rome upon himself and his kingdom, he submitted. After receiving John's oath to govern according to law and equity, Langton absolved him from the sentence of excommunication. John assembled his barons to consult how the damages of the church might be repaired.—Highly offended with his mean submission to the Pope, they resolved to take arms against him, and refused to assist him in recovering that part of Normandy which Philip had seized. Langton threatened to excommunicate such as would take arms, before the interdict were removed.

To render his claim to the English kingdom most firm and manifest, Innocent sent his legate to cause John make a second resignation, in presence of his nobles and clergy, and attested by the primate. After the Papal charter was presented on the altar, and attributed to the directive inspiration of the Holy Ghost, John swore fealty and did homage to the Roman see, and to Innocent and his lawful successors. Upon this, he received back his rights of the crown from the legate. The nobles considered this second re-

signation of his crown as a condition of his obtaining the Pope's protection against them. Langton attested the charter, but protested against it; and thereby drew upon himself the detestation of the Roman court. Innocent and his agents now represented John as a Prince of extraordinary humility and piety; and the lately extolled Langton as a most wicked apostate, and the other clergy, who had formerly assisted the Roman usurpations, but now assisted the barons in demanding a restoration of the liberties of their kingdom, as most detestable miscreants. A civil war taking place, John fought to retain himself and subjects slaves to the Pope. The barons, who had lately helped to enslave the kingdom, fought for its liberties, and obtained the *Magna Charta* and *Charter of forests*, which still continue the foundations of English liberty. John persuaded his Holiness to declare these charters *null* and void; and while his barons expected nothing but peace, he attacked them with an army of foreigners, to many of whom he distributed the property of his native subjects. They called Lewis, heir to the French crown, to be their Sovereign. Neither he, nor they, regarded the Pontifical thunders launched in favour of John.

CHAPTER III.

King Henry allows the Pope a tenth of all moveables—Italian Clergy preferred to good Benefices, but opposed by the Nobles—New Romish Canons—Pope terribly oppresseth the English, but Barons resist his Exactions—Grofthead, Bishop of Lincoln, opposes both King and Pope—New Exactions and Canons; King Edward I. enacts good Laws—Archbishop Peckham opposes new Papal Exactions; but confirms the Canons of Otho and Ottobon, late Papal Legates—King Edward labours to humble the Clergy, and to free himself from Part of his Coronation Oath—The Templar Knights are destroyed—King Edward III. by his Statutes of Provisors, Premunire, &c. restrains the Increase of Papal Power.

IN 1216, Innocent and John retired to their grave, and, not long after, Langton of Canterbury, who, contrary to the fears of some, and the hopes of others, had proved a most valiant defender of the liberties of the English church and nation. The monks chose Walter, one of their own number, an ignorant and scandalous wretch, whose father had been hanged for theft,

to be Archbishop. King Henry III. and his Bishops warmly opposing it, Pope Gregory IX. declared their election null and void, and took the choice into his own hand. By promising the Pope the tenth part of all the moveables in England, for the support of his sacred war against the German Emperor, Henry got Richard, chancellor of Lincoln, promoted to the Primacy. Terrible distress and rage accompanied the levying of this *tenth part* for the Pope; but fears of his Papal damnations made the people at last to comply. Bishops and Abbots were obliged to advance the money for their inferiors. They were forced to sell or pawn the church plate, or to borrow money upon it at high interest from the Italian usurers, whom the Pope's Nuncio had brought along with him for that purpose.

Richard dying soon after his advancement, Pope Gregory, intending to have all the vacant benefices of note conferred upon Italians, or other foreigners, opposed the monks' election of Nevil, Bishop of Chichester, fearing that, like Langton, he might turn out a friend to his country. Enraged by this, about eighty persons of high rank entered into a solemn confederacy to drive the Italian clergy out of all their preferments in England, and carried their point. Gregory was sufficiently provoked; but Henry finding that so many great men were concerned in the affair, durst punish but few of them. Having got Henry made his blind dupe, Gregory annulled other two elections of an Archbishop; and at last himself appointed Edmund treasurer of Salisbury.

Contrary to the expostulations of the new Archbishop, Henry admitted Otho the pontifical legate. He brought with him a set of canons

to be established in a council which he called at London. They imported, that churches should be consecrated within two years after their erection; that no abbot or rector shall pull down old churches without leave from the Bishop of the diocese; that no person of infamous birth, or who is ignorant or scandalous, be admitted to the priesthood; that Bishops live at their cathedrals a considerable part of the year, and officiate on the *great festival* and on the *Sundays of lent*; that Bishops visit their dioceses, consecrate churches, exercise discipline, and frequently preach to the people; that every one that brings a cause into a spiritual court, give his oath that he doth not act from any litigious humour: that every advocate, at his admission, give oath, that he will plead according to truth and equity; that all judges keep records of their procedure, and give parties concerned copies on demand, &c. The canon which he proposed against plurality of clerical charges was warmly opposed. The principal stations of the church were quickly filled with Italians and other foreigners, licentious enough in their lives, but trusty slaves to the Roman see. Regardless of his subjects, Henry permitted Gregory to oppress them as he pleased. The English clergy, and many of the people, were stripped of almost all that they had, for the assistance of the Pope against the Emperor: but the Emperor's troops seized it in its passage to Rome. Finding that he could do nothing effectually for the relief of his country, Archbishop Edmund retired into a monastery. Gregory transmitted to the other Bishops a list of 300 Italians to be preferred to vacant benefices, before any other should be served. No mat-

ter though, for want of their language, they could be of no use to their flocks.

Celestine IV. had scarcely succeeded Gregory in 1241, when he appointed an insolent legate to strip the English clergy of the poor remains of their wealth. The nobles finding Henry utterly averse to assist them, resolved by themselves to restrain such exactions. They commanded the wardens of the several sea-ports to stop every person who brought *bulls* or *mandates* from Rome. A messenger was apprehended with several bulls, empowering the nuncio to raise money from the clergy. The nuncio complained to Henry: but the barons boldly justified their conduct, and represented to him the injustice he did to his subjects, in permitting such exactions; and shewed him a list of revenues enjoyed by Italian clergy in England, which exceeded those of the crown. The barons empowered a knight to order the nuncio to leave the kingdom, who, upon his shifting, told him that if he did not depart within three days, he would be cut to pieces. Finding that Henry could not protect him, he hasted off, to the no small joy of the nation.

When the council of Lyons met in 1245, the English barons insisted for a redress of their grievances; especially the yearly payment of a thousand marks of tribute for the kingdoms of England and Ireland, as fiefs of the Pope; and of the clause *non obstante* in all his bulls. After waiting for a time to no purpose, and finding that his Holiness intended only to amuse them, they protested against the payment of that annual tribute; and swore that they would not suffer the revenues of their church to be carried off by foreigners, and then returned home.

Innocent IV. having obtained the Popedom, pretended great favour to the English, allowed their patrons to present whom they pleased, and to nominate an English successor, whenever any place was vacated by an Italian. But he required their Bishops, under pain of excommunication, to sign the charter by which King John had rendered the nation tributary to the Pope. They meanly complied. Next year the Parliament, by a solemn deputation, complained to his Holiness of their grievances, particularly Papal exactions from clergymen, and pensions from churches; the robbing of patrons of their power to present proper persons to ecclesiastical charges and benefices; the bestowing of benefices on Italians, who understand not the English language, and do not preach at their churches, nor maintain any charity or hospitality there; that while Italians had free and easy admission to privileges, Englishmen were obliged to prosecute their rights at Rome; and that the clause *non obstante* in bulls, was destructive of all the laws, customs, and privileges of the nation. Innocent being utterly averse to diminish his revenues or powers, told them that he would prosecute his own measures, let Henry do what he would. He loaded the English clergy with new taxes, and claimed right to be administrator to all Bishops who died without latter wills. He appointed one Bishop to levy from his resident clergy *one-third*, and from non-residents *one-half* of their moveables, under pain of excommunication, or suspension. After some contrary proclamations of Henry, Innocent carried his point, except with respect to the effects of the Bishops that died intestate. Provoked with these exorbitant exactions, Grost-

head, Bishop of Lincoln, a man of uncommon learning and resolution, set himself to oppose both Innocent and Henry, his pitiful dupe, in a manner becoming his character. He tore the Papal bulls which presented unqualified candidates to benefices. He refused to consecrate such Italians as could not speak English. He formed a list, by which it appeared, that Italians possessed ecclesiastical revenues, in England, to the value of seventy thousand marks; which were, perhaps, equal to a million Sterling at present. At last, for refusing to consecrate an Italian boy to the first vacant benefice in his diocese, and for his faithful remonstrance against the Papal wickedness, he was, contrary to the advice of the wiser cardinals, excommunicated by the Pope. He appealed to the judgment of God, and continued his work in the church, and died in a Christian manner, bearing a solemn testimony against the Romish corruptions.

Henry had scarcely foreborn oppressing the clergy, by exactions for a pretended expedition against the Infidels in Palestine, when Pope Alexander IV. about 1260, demanded another for the conquest of Sicily to Prince Edmund. And, because they had not money, bills were brought them from Italy, indorsed to some merchant there; and every Bishop and Abbot was required to sign them, under pain of excommunication. The Pope and King obliged them to comply, the bills being a little altered. After the nation had been, for seven years, grievously oppressed in this manner, Ottobon, the Pope's legate, assembled a council of the English clergy at London, which enacted, that, in case of necessity, lay persons might baptize infants; that no

money should be taken for the administration of sacraments; that no clergyman should be installed before the preceding incumbents be certainly dead; that parishes should be no further divided; that executors of testaments should present an inventory of their trust to their ordinary before they begin their administration; that no Bishops shall sequester the profits of vacant livings; that penance shall never be exchanged for money; that no tithes be alienated; that clergymen abstain from pluralities, especially such as are possessed without dispensation or institution; that no benefices be held in commendam; that no patrons be allowed annual sums for their grant of presentations.

Edward I. having ascended the throne in A. D. 1272, his Parliament, about two years after, enacted a number of salutary laws for both church and state. Meanwhile the general council of Lions imposed a new tax on the whole Western church.—None but Peckham, deacon of Lincoln, opposed it. Having dared to hint, that the English clergy had been already so impoverished by taxations, that they had scarcely whereon to live, Pope Gregory X. deprived him of his preferments. Not long after, he rejected Burnell, whom the Canterburian monks had unanimously elected their Archbishop, and himself chose and consecrated another Peckham, a learned Franciscan. Peckham quickly held a council at Lambeth, which confirmed the constitutions of Otho and Ottobon; and further enacted, that priests should carefully instruct their ignorant people, that the bread in the Lord's Supper was both his body and blood; that unconsecrated wine merely rendered the swallowing of the bread

the easier; and that which was consecrated belonged only to the priests, who celebrate divine service in the less important churches; that baptism by lay persons is valid; that the most necessary points of religion should be plainly explained to the people once every quarter of a year.

As notwithstanding former prohibitions, many continued devoting their estates to the church, to the hurt of the nation, and the impoverishment of the King's exchequer—the Parliament, by the statute of *Mortmain*, enacted, that if any person should dispoſe of any heritable property to the church, without the will of his immediate *superiors*, of whom he held that property, these, or higher superiors, might immediately seize on said diſpoſed houses or lands, for themselves, as their undoubted property, in all time coming.—Edward, bent on limiting the power of the clergy, he and Archbishop Peckham had several warm contests; the citizens and burgesses now beginning to be called as members of Parliament, along with the lower clergy, as a national council. In this, Edward demanded from the clergy an half year's revenue. Finding them reluctant, he charged the opposers of his motion to stand forth and take their trial as disturbers of the peace of the kingdom. This obliged them to comply with his harsh demands. Accounting it an unsupportable burden to attend Parliaments, the inferior clergy, by degrees, accustomed themselves to make their grants in convocations.—Next year Edward demanded a new supply from the clergy. After procuring a bull from Pope Boniface VIII. prohibiting their payment of it, they pretended their terror of this bull as a rea-

son of declining it. Edward sealed up their stores, and gave them till next Parliament to deliberate on the affair. Peckham caused publish the Pope's bull, prohibiting collectors to levy it, in all the cathedral churches. Next year Edward called a Parliament without the spiritual members, which enacted, that all the goods of such clergymen as refused the royal tax formerly imposed, should be confiscated, and themselves outlawed; and prohibited judges to do them justice in any suit. The clergy threatened to excommunicate all such as should seize their goods, without their consent; but finding that Edward would not be trifled with, they, after some conference, yielded the point, consented to pay a fine for their contumacy, and to deposit a fifth part of their revenues, to be employed in defence of the kingdom, when needful. Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, alone remained obstinate. But Edward's order to seize his whole property, made him willing to part with a fourth part of it. In consequence of this submission, Edward and his Parliament confirmed to the clergy all their wonted privileges.

Not long after, Boniface prohibited Edward's further attempts upon the betrayed and disjointed kingdom of Scotland. But he and his barons little regarded his Holiness' mandates. Boniface also presumed to put the new Bishop of Worcester in possession of his temporalities as well as his spiritual jurisdiction. But Edward obliged him to renounce that clause, and pay a thousand marks Sterling for ever accepting it. About the same time, by a large present of gold plate, he persuaded Pope Clement to absolve him from his coronation oath to preserve his subjects'

liberties secured to them by *Magna Charta* and *Charter of forests*, and to give him a bull declaring all excommunication for the breaches of it null and void. After humbling some of the seditious nobles, he attacked the Archbishop of Canterbury, and by the Pope's assistance got him suspended, and his see sequestered in the hands of the nuncio. Just before his death, he held a Parliament of laics and clergymen at Carlisle, which enacted, that none of the principal preferments should be granted to any foreigners; that the rents of religious houses should not be given to the Pope for his college of cardinals, nor should he have any title to the *first fruits* of vacant benefices; that Peter-pence ought never to be demanded to a triple extent; that no legacies, disposed to pious uses, should ever be converted from their original design.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the wealth of the Templar Knights had exceedingly increased.—It is said they had sixteen thousand lordships in Europe.—Envy of their greatness, and covetousness of their wealth, varnished over with pretended discoveries of their horrid enormities, brought them to ruin in England, and everywhere else, in the beginning of the fourteenth. Not without opposition, Archbishop Winchelsea submitted to the calling of the clergy for members of Parliament; and himself summoned the inferior sort. Reynolds, his successor, probably by his presents, obtaining the uncommon favour of Clement, was empowered to visit his provincial charge for three years successively, and to suspend the jurisdiction of all his suffragans, during that time; to visit places ordinarily exempted; to restore two hundred

clergymen who had been deposed for scandal ; to dispense with a hundred that, by reason of nonage, were unfit for holding benefices ; to absolve a hundred laymen who had laid violent hands upon clergymen ; to allow forty clergymen to hold plurality of benefices annexed to charge of souls, notwithstanding all laws to the contrary ; and, in fine, to pardon, on profession of repentance, all crimes committed within a hundred days before.—During the weak and disorderly reign of Edward II. we find little relative to the church, but some clerical subsidies to the King; the elections of the Bishops of Durham, Winchester, London, and Hereford, by the Pope, without regarding their respective chapters of monks ; and at last many clergymen assisting the barons to depose him, and instal his son Edward III.

Mepham succeeded Reynolds in the Archbishopric of Canterbury. In his provincial council he fixed the number of *holy days*, and the manner of observing each. He had not proceeded far in his provincial visitation, when the Bishop of Exeter stopt him with an armed force. Edward prevented a bloody contention between them, by recalling Mepham, who soon after died. Notwithstanding Edward's spirited remonstrances and other efforts, his Holiness still supplied the ecclesiastical vacancies, without regarding either King or wonted manner of election. Archbishop Stratford having, on account of their poverty, refused Edward a clerical subsidy for carrying on his war with the French, occasioned a terrible contest between him and his no less haughty Sovereign, who scorned to yield. To prevent the Pope's filling up the vacant livings

with foreigners, Edward's Parliament, in their *statute of provisors*, enacted, that all such as should be convicted of bringing Papal provisions or fore-grants of ecclesiastical livings into the kingdom, should lie in prison till they paid a fine for his Majesty's use, and made satisfaction to the party injured. Next year the clergy having pleased Edward with their large subsidy, they had their privileges further explained and confirmed against all encroachment of the secular courts. In his next Parliament, held at Westminster, the famous statute of *PREMUNIRE* enacted, that whoever should appeal any cause of property to the Pope, should be outlawed from the King's protection; their estates and moveables confiscated for his use; and their persons imprisoned till ransomed to his content. These statutes, with that of *Mortmain* above-mentioned, were calculated to restrain the growing power of the Roman court: but, unwilling to break with his Holiness, Edward never put them into execution.

Urban V. having commenced Pontiff in 1362, he, in the haughtiest manner, required the English to pay their annnal tribute promised by King John.—Edward's Parliament declared, that John had no power to bring any such servitude upon his kingdom, without their own consent; and that the whole nation was determined to oppose all pretensions of the Pope to it. This spirited resolution for ever delivered England from this infamous tribute. Complaints being presented to this Parliament, that clergymen had almost the whole management of the state in their hands, they supplicated Edward, that no clergyman should be held admittable to the offices of chan-

cellor, privy seal, treasurer, baron of exchequer, and other places of the *civil list*. Edward had scarce removed them from the first three offices, when he died, in 1377, and was succeeded by Richard II. his grandson, under whose weak government both church and state were almost ruined.—In the Parliament 1300, the statute of *premunire* was ratified, and it was further enacted, that whoever went beyond sea to procure himself any clerical benefice, without the King's leave, should be excluded from the protection of the laws; and that it should be held treasonable to bring into the kingdom any sentence of excommunication on account of the making of these statutes. The Bishops protested, and the Pope raged, against these restrictions of their power. The nuncio was required to do nothing contrary to the laws of the kingdom, and prerogatives of the King; and to export no money without special warrant from him and his council.

CHAPTER IV.

Wickliff, by translating the Bible, and opposing Popish Superstition, not a little enlightens the Nation—He and his Followers are persecuted—King Henry VI.'s Barons oppose the Pope's Demands—Edward IV. befriends the Clergy, who are directed what to preach.

MEANWHILE the nation was not a little enlightened with the knowledge of the truths of Christ. About 1360, John Wickliff, principal professor of divinity of Oxford, boldly defended the statutes of that university against the mendicant friars, and even threw out hints against the Pontifical protector. For this, Langham, Archbishop of Canterbury, deprived him of his wardship, and substituted a monk in his place. About the same time Langham condemned thirty opinions, and King Edward commanded the heads of the university to search out, and expel all such as were tainted with them. Wickliff appealed from the Archbishop's sentence to the judgment of Pope Urban: but, provoked with his confirmation of it, he began more openly to attack the scandalous behaviour of the monks and Popes;—to expose

the absurd superstitions which prevailed; and to urge people to acquaint themselves with the word of God as the rule of their religious conduct; and for their assistance he translated the Bible into English. The clergy furiously opposed him; and the monks commenced a violent prosecution of him, before Pope Gregory XI. But the Papal schism, and the influence of the Duke of Lancaster and other noblemen, that favoured him, retarded the execution of it about eight years. About 1383, William Courtney, Archbishop of Canterbury, revived the process, in the councils of Lambeth and London. Wickliff was accused of ten heresies, and thirteen other errors; the principal of which were, that the eucharistical bread is not, by the priest's consecration of it, turned into the real body of Christ; that no more power was given to Peter than to the other apostles; that the church of Rome is no more the head of the universal church than any other; that the Pope hath no more power of jurisdiction than any other priest; that if churchmen scandalously misbehave, they may be deprived of their temporalities; that the Gospel of Christ is a sufficient rule of a Christian life; that monastical and other additional rules add no real excellence to Christianity; that clergymen ought not to have prisons for punishing men's bodies. Not long after he died peaceably in his rectorship of Lutterworth, without any appearance of either recanting or explaining away his tenets. But, about thirty years after, his bones were dug up, solemnly judged, condemned, and burnt.

Notwithstanding Courtney excommunicated multitudes of Wickliff's followers, who were nicknamed *Lollards*, they mightily increased.

Taking the opportunity of Richard's absence in Ireland, they attempted to have their doctrines approved by the Parliament A. D. 1395. They presented a spirited remonstrance, in which they averred, that the church of England's imitation of the Romists in the use of her temporalities, had banished faith, hope, and charity; that the English priesthood derived from Rome, and pretending power over angels, is not that which Christ settled on his apostles; that the restraint of clergymen from marriage occasioned many scandalous immoralities; that the pretended miracle of transubstantiation renders the greatest part of Christians idolaters; that exorcisms or clerical benedictions of wine, bread, water, oil, wax, incense, stones for the altar, church walls, holy vestments, mitres, crosses, &c. have more of necromancy than of religion in them; that the junction of the office of *Prince* and *Bishop*, *Prelate* and *secular Judge*, in the same person, is improper and hurtful; that prayer for the dead is a wrong foundation of charity and religious endowments; that pilgrimages, prayers, and offerings to images and crosses, are near of kin to idolatry; that auricular confession makes priests proud, admits them into the secrets of penitents, and gives them opportunities for intrigues, and other great offences; that women's vows to live unmarried betrays them into infamous correspondences, tempts them to procure abortions, and murder their children unbaptized; that unnecessary trades occasion pride and luxury. This remonstrance so alarmed the clergy, that some of the Bishops posted to Ireland, to bring home the King to their assistance; while Arundel, who had just obtained the Archbishopric, assembled

a council for condemning such heretical doctrines.

In 1399, the barons deposed the weak, and in some things tyrannical Richard—and Henry IV. Duke of Lancaster, ascended the throne as nearest heir.—His Parliament of 1400, revived the statutes of *provisors* and *premunire*; but as he, for his own security on the throne, courted the favour of the clergy, they continued asking, and the Pope in collating of benefices. The Parliament also enacted, that the purchasers or executors of bulls prohibiting payment of tithes, or exempting from the jurisdiction of Bishops, should incur the penalties mentioned in the *statute of provisors*. The Bishops, by royal warrants, had formerly imprisoned multitudes of the followers of Wickliff. Henry, to please them and their Pope, now procured a statute for *burning of heretics*; in consequence of which, these Bishops, who, under Richard, would not assist in condemning traitors and notorious oppressors, greedily claimed the sole power of judging and committing to the flames such as they called relapsed heretics. Sawtra, a pious priest of London, was almost immediately condemned and burnt, because he *could not* believe transubstantiation.

When the Parliament met, A. D. 1408, Arundel, instigated by Henry, assembled his clerical council at Oxford, to extirpate heresy from the university and nation. They enacted, that none should preach without licence from a Bishop; that sermons should only touch upon moral subjects, and such things as had been formerly taught by the church; that no books of Wickliff, or his followers, should be read in schools or colleges; that no person, without authority, should tran-

slate any part of the Bible into English; that no propositions or conclusions tending to the corruption of men's faith or practice should be mentioned; that none should dispute concerning the worship of images, holy relics, or pilgrimages, or any other point fixed by the church; and that the heads of the university should, once every month, enquire into the principles of the students; admonish them if found in an error, and expel them if obstinate. Nevertheless, the doctrines of Wickliff still prevailed. When Henry demanded a pecuniary aid from his Parliament, the Commons insisted for favour to the *Lollards*, and represented, that the clergy squandered away their enormous wealth in vain grandeur and unnecessary pomp; that, if he would take away their temporal estates, the nation would be more able and ready to defend itself, the poor better supplied, and themselves more attentive to the duties of their station. In a second remonstrance, they insisted that the statute for *burning of heretics* should be either repealed or amended. The clergy loudly reproached the Commons as heretics themselves; and Henry haughtily rejected their requests, and wished the rigour of that statute heightened. Not long after, he refused his assent to an act of Parliament for the trial of clergymen in civil courts; but cheerfully signed a warrant for the burning of one Badby, a blacksmith, who could not believe transubstantiation.

Wickliff's tenets still spreading, were again condemned at Oxford; and every one was prohibited, under pain of degradation, to teach them. The convocation of London having urged the

Archbishop to visit the university of Oxford, the heads appointed twelve of their principal doctors, along with the delegates of the Archbishop, to examine the books of Wickliff, and transmit an extract of the condemnable propositions to him and his suffragan Bishops. He and Henry had resolved not to leave *one Lollard* in the kingdom; but death cut them both off in 1413, lamented by almost none but the abandoned clergy. Just before his death, Arundel had laboured to persuade young Henry V. to prosecute Sir John Cobham or Oldcastle, and other heretical lords. Finding him averse to such cruelty, Arundel and his agents pretended that Sir John had assembled twenty thousand of his party to massacre his whole royal family. Persuaded hereof, Henry assembled an army, and was, at midnight, conducted to a place where he found about an hundred of the poor persecuted Lollards, assembled for worshipping God, with arms about them for their own defence from murderers. Some were killed: others, instigated by promises and threatenings, falsely confessed a plot, and that Sir John was at the head of it. A price being set upon his head, he was soon apprehended, hanged by the middle, and then burnt. He endured his sufferings as a courageous martyr for Christ. While Arundel answered to God for his treacheries and murders, Henry seemed to have been convinced that he had been imposed on, and granted the Lollards an act of indemnity.

After the council of Constance, A. D. 1416, Pope Martin began to display his absolute power over the English church. He often disposed of vacant bishoprics in the form of *provisions*, and

annulled the elections of the chapters of monks. Within the province of Canterbury, he, in two years, appointed thirteen Bishops. He was extremely lavish of his grants for consolidating and appropriating parish churches, or of dispensations with clergymen's non-residence, or laymen's enjoyment of ecclesiastical benefices. King Henry's bold remonstrance checked his presumption a little.—The Parliament enacted, that none should be admitted to benefices, upon Papal provisions, contrary to the right of the patron; and the clause *non obstante* in Papal bulls should have no effect. Henry further demanded, that his Holiness should dispose of no preferments in England; and that himself should enjoy the Pontifical revenues of that country, whenever he should be employed in defending the holy see. When Martin laboured to evade these demands, Henry's ambassadors protested, that their master would therein use his own prerogative. Martin, at his own hand, translated the Bishop of Lincoln to the archbishopric of York: but Henry commanded the dean and chapter not to admit him; and so he was forced to return to Lincoln, and the Pope to acquiesce. Perceiving that the French monks had marked their disaffection to him and his conquests in their country, Henry turned them out of some monasteries, and put Englishmen in their room.

Henry VI. an infant, was scarce enthroned in 1423, when Chichely, Archbishop of Canterbury, renewed the furious persecution of the Lollards. Two priests were accused before the first convocation, but got off with their life. In the following Parliament, the Commons grievously

complained that want of due clerical instruction tempted the subjects to Lollardism, the sacraments not being duly administered—many dying without the privilege of religious ceremonies, and hospitality being neglected through clergymen's non-residence at their charges. And they insisted, that if any priest should absent himself from his flock six weeks in a year, he should forfeit his claim to his benefice. Russel, a Franciscan, having taught that the payment of personal tithes to the clergy was not commanded by the word of God; and that they might be better laid out upon some pious uses, as the givers found meet, was warmly persecuted for his detestable doctrine. He escaped out of the kingdom: but all those of his order were commanded to preach up the contrary: and the university of Oxford required all their students, before receiving any degrees, to swear, that they would never maintain Russel's opinion, or anywise assist in defending it.

Archbishop Chichely having, in his first convocation, moved for an annulment of Papal exemptions, and having advised Henry V. to refuse the Bishop of Winchester for Pontifical legate, had rendered himself obnoxious at Rome, Martin, being now freed from the entanglements of his immediate predecessors, charged him, under pain of excommunication, to labour to his uttermost to have the statutes of *provisors* and *premunire* repealed; and to inform the Council and Parliament, that every one that obeyed them, lay under excommunication at Rome; and to require all his clergy to teach the same;—and, finally, to report his diligence herein, attested by

two credible witnesses. Chichely's excuse not being sustained at Rome, he was suspended from the exercise of his legantine powers. He appealed to the next general council, and to the tribunal of God, if that should not meet. Martin repeated his demands in other two missives, in the last of which he put the Archbishop of York first in order; pretended to annul the statutes by his own power; prohibited the Bishops to act upon them; and declared all the obeyers of them excommunicated, not to be absolved by any but the Pope, except at the point of death. At last Chichely promised to do his utmost for the repeal of these acts. Martin represented to the King, and to Bedford, the Regent, that they were obliged in conscience to repeal them; and to the Parliament, that they could not be saved unless they voted their repeal. The English rulers had learned to dissemble with his Holiness. When the Parliament met, Chichely, with great appearance of zeal, insisted with the Commons for a repeal of the criminal statutes, pretending to argue from Scripture, reason, and the common consent of Christians, and then, with the rest of his episcopal brethren, withdrew. The Commons, with great solemnity, entered on the debate: but, after all, refused either to repeal or amend these obnoxious acts; and formed an address to his Majesty, to procure from the Pope a purgation of the Archbishop, who they thought had been hardly used by the Roman court. The privy council would not allow the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester to exercise his legantine powers. Nor would the Duke of Gloucester, who was Regent, allow him to officiate as Pre-

late of the order of the garter. Nor was it without manifold limitations, that the council would permit him to publish the Papal croisade against the Bohemian heretics, for a levy of two thousand seven hundred and fifty men, or to collect voluntary donations for supporting them.

In the convocation of London several clergymen, and others, were accused of heretical hints against the worship of images, and that the Pope was Antichrist, and for holding some of Wickliff's opinions. Such as would not recant, were thrown into prisons and dungeons, to teach them repentance. This clerical meeting cheerfully granted a tenth part of their incomes to his Majesty. But neither the Pope's own demands, nor all the solicitations of his nuncio, could persuade them to grant as much to him, nor even a twentieth part, without the King's consent. Not long after, the nuncio himself was imprisoned for collecting money from the subjects contrary to law. The convocation, which had been originally accustomed to do nothing but give aids, had perhaps in Archbishop Courtney's time, begun to transact ecclesiastical affairs, as the Bishops permitted. They now appointed delegates to attend the general *council* of Basil, which met in 1431; and instructed them to insist for a check to his Holiness' dispensations with clergymen's pluralities of charges and non-residence at them; and his collation of dignities and benefices upon persons ignorant or under age. King Henry espoused the cause of Pope Eugenius, against the council of Basil, and acknowledged the schismatical conventicle of Ferrara, afterward translated to Florence: but the lower house of convoca-

tion refused to contribute towards the expense of sending any delegates to it. When Eugenius granted the bishopric of Eli *in commendam* to the Archbishop of Rhoan, Henry, at first, rejected the bull; and when the candidate's good services made him consent, Chichely opposed his claim to the temporalities. The convocation enacted, that none but graduates in universities should be capable of any benefice; and thus empowered the seminaries of learning to prevent the admission of ignorant wretches.

After Chichely and his clergy had made several ineffectual attempts for repealing the above-mentioned statutes, he, worn out with age, that he could not perform his episcopal work, begged of his Holiness to instal Stratford the Bishop of Bath in his place. Stratford and his clergy still insisted for a repeal of these acts, which so much bridled their power. Notwithstanding their master's silly complaisance, Henry's ministers refused to yield. Meanwhile, Henry Beaufort, his grand uncle, Cardinal Bishop of Winchester, died, famed for nothing but sordid avarice and pride. Peacock of Chichester was a kind of deist, who extolled the light of nature above revelation; and, which was reckoned more unpardonable, he espoused some of Wickliff's tenets. After he had twice recanted, he was deprived of his see; and all students who embraced his tenets were excommunicated, and expelled the university.

After he had reigned thirty-eight years, Henry was dethroned for his weakness, and Edward IV. Earl of March, eldest branch of the line of York, which had been set aside by Henry IV. was

made King. To establish his dignity, he granted the clergy every thing they asked. He screened them from the statutes of *provisors* and *premunire*, freed them from the jurisdictions of the civil courts; and, under pain of excommunication, prohibited all his judges or officers to arrest or imprison any of them. He pretended to grant them these favours from a terror of the excommunication denounced by the holy canons; and that he was persuaded, that the miseries under which the nation had long groaned, were the judgments of God for avenging the disrespect which had been shewed to his servants. In 1466, Nevil, Archbishop of Canterbury, held a council at York, which appointed every priest, *four times a-year*, to explain to his hearers the fourteen articles of faith; ten commandments; two gospel precepts of love to God and our neighbour; *seven works of mercy*—feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, entertaining strangers, visiting the sick, clothing the naked, comforting prisoners, and burying friendless dead;—*seven deadly sins* of pride, envy, anger, hatred, aversion to religion and virtue, covetousness, and epicurism;—the *seven principal virtues* of faith, hope, charity, prudence, temperance, justice, and fortitude; and the *seven sacraments* of baptism, Lord's Supper, confirmation, penance, extreme unction, marriage, and ordination. This was materially the same with the tenth canon of Lambeth in 1281.—After Edward's dethronement, restoration, and death, and about two or three months reign of his son Edward V., Richard Crookback, Duke of Gloucester, his uncle, took the throne. But, after two years, he was

driven out by Henry VII. Duke of Richmond, heir of the line of Lancaster, who had married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. and heiress of the house of York. He had several contests with the ambitious clergy; but his principal care was to hoard up money, and so died hated or feared by all his subjects. Under his reign, Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, brought over the first printing press from Haerlem, in Holland, to Oxford in England, 1494.

CHAPTER V.

King Henry VIII. marries his sister-in-law—Cardinal Wolsey manages almost all affairs; is appointed by the Pope to visit and reform the monasteries—Henry writes against Luther—Tindal's New Testament hated—Provoked with the Pope for refusing to annul his marriage, Henry declares himself head of the English Church—The Monks' furious adherence to the Pope provokes Henry to dissolve their monasteries, and take the revenues into his own hand—By the influence of Lord Cromwel, Archbishop Cranmer, and others, the Protestant Reformation was partially introduced; the reading of the Bible allowed; but in the end of Henry's reign, matters grew worse—Under Edward VI. Reformation was much advanced; but under Queen Mary, Popery was re-established, and multitudes burnt for opposing it—The persecuted had contentions in prison and at Frankfort.

HENRY VIII. succeeded his father in 1509. Divinity, as then taught in the universities, was his favourite study. While many of his subjects were plotting the destruction of his father's two most rapacious ministers, Empson and Dudley,

he and his council were occupied in settling his marriage with Catherine, aunt to Charles V. Emperor of Germany, and King of Spain. She had been married to Arthur his elder brother, when he was about fifteen years of age. He slept with her for a time, but was said to leave her a virgin. Upon his death, Henry VII. unwilling to lose her portion, or to allow her a proper dowry on receipt of it, procuring a dispensation from the Pope, got her betrothed to Henry his second son, in the 14th year of his age. But, perhaps repenting, he made young Henry enter a solemn secret protestation against it. As Catherine affirmed herself a virgin, and had an agreeable and virtuous temper, Henry VIII. moved by some reasons of state, and reckoning his conscience sufficiently protected by his Holiness' dispensation, took her to his bed about two months after his father's death; and they were conjunctly crowned.

Henry and his courtiers having abandoned themselves to pleasure, Wolsey, from the rank of a chaplain, pushed himself into almost the whole management of the kingdom. A law had been made in the late reign, That clergymen convicted should be burnt in the hand; another was now made, That murderers and robbers, not being priests or deacons, should be denied the benefit of clergy. Highly offended, the clergy insisted, that all their orders being sacred, none of them could lawfully be judged by any civil court. Standish risked both his dignity and life, in honestly opposing his brethren, and Henry, supporting the statutes, Wolsey thought fit to yield.—But, animated by his cardinal's hat, and his archbishopric of York, he, with great zeal,

promoted a clerical contribution for his Holiness to defray the expence of the Turkish war. But the clergy had both wit and zeal to retain their own money. Wolsey was made the Pope's *legate a latere*, and appointed to visit all the monasteries in the kingdom; and empowered to dispense with all ecclesiastical laws for a whole year. The clergy were highly offended, especially as the Pope's bulls granting him these powers, had represented them as very ignorant and profligate. They thought it very improper, that Wolsey should pass such a censure upon them, when his own vices were so remarkable. But observing, that their ignorance and profligacy would inevitably render them contemptible, he was willing to endeavour the reformation of the inferior clergy by every tenable method, except the drudgery of giving them a good example. He also expected that the abominable practices found in monasteries would justify his suppression of them, and converting of them into cathedrals, colleges, or collegiate churches. But his friends advised him to suppress them by the less invidious method of Papal authority.

The enormous wealth and power of the clergy had made many of them think, that they might do what they pleased, without reproach or controul. Under pretence of a Turkish war to be carried on by all the Christian princes of Europe, Pope Leo X. published an Indulgence which extended to both the quick and the dead; and promised forgiveness of all their sins, and a complete redemption from both hell and purgatory, at fixed prices, for carrying on the war. The subordinate disposers of these indulgences acted

in the most profligate manner. It is said, the power of releasing souls was sometimes played for in taverns. Zuinglius of Switzerland and Luther of Germany boldly decried this abominable merchandize. Luther's books spread into England, and were the more eagerly read, that his doctrines appeared like to those of Wickliff. The Lollards were therefore the more furiously persecuted. The least word, however inadvertently dropt, against any ecclesiastical law, was enough to found a prosecution; and parents teaching their children the *Lord's prayer* and the *ten commandments*, according to Wickliff's English translation, was thought a sufficient ground of *burning* them as heretics. Puffed up with his own theological learning, and highly offended that Luther had so freely handled T. Aquinas, his favourite doctor, Henry published a pretended refutation of his books. This procured him high flattery from Rome, with a new title of *Defender of the Faith*, which his successors on the throne still retain. But Luther, in his reply, treated him with very unceremonious freedom. To promote the salvation of his countrymen, William Tindal published an English translation of the New Testament with short notes. Sir Thomas More, so famed for his mildness, learning, and Popish piety, published a virulent confutation of it. The bishops poured forth their proclamations against it, as a book infinitely dishonourable to God, and ruinous to the souls of men; and, from all the pulpits in the nation, charged all that had any copies of it, to bring them to the *Vicar General*, within thirty days, under pain of excommunication, and of being suspected of heresy. Some were prosecuted as heretics,

but recanted,—while Wolsey's oppression of the nation, particularly his clerical brethren, with taxes, diverted men's minds to other objects.

AFTER Henry had lived almost twenty years with his queen, and had several children born by her, her frequent miscarriages, and the improbability of her having any sons, provoked his dislike at her. Perhaps the French and Spaniards, questioning the legitimacy of his daughter Mary, when proposed for marriage with their princes, awakened his suspicion of the unlawfulness of his own; while Anne of Boleyn, his queen's maid of honour, had begun to captivate his capricious affections. He first intimated his scruple to Cardinal Wolsey, and required him to declare his mind concerning his divorcing of Catherine. Wolsey, having had his attempt on the Popedom defeated by Charles her nephew, was bent enough to do her a disservice; but was wise enough to beg leave to consult the learned men of the kingdom. The bishops and others, being assembled, advised Henry to consult all the universities in Europe, and procure their determinations under their respective seals. Messengers were immediately dispatched, with proper instructions to consult the foreign universities. In more than a year, not one but that of Orleans had returned their opinion,—when Dr. Cranmer, then tutor to the children of a gentleman in whose house Henry happened to lodge a night, suggested the propriety of obtaining and publishing the decision of the universities, which, if done, his Holiness would scarce dare to pronounce a contrary sentence. Highly pleased with the hint, Henry pushed for the foreigners' resolution of his two questions, Whether the law

of God allowed of a man's marrying his brother's wife? and, Whether the Pope could dispense with the laws of God? All the universities, except those of Rome, and most of the learned in Europe, Papists, Lutherans, and Zuinglians, declared themselves in the negative of both questions. With much difficulty, and little unanimity, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge declared the marriage unlawful. Having obtained the opinions of so many learned men, Henry assembled the bishops, who all, except Fisher of Rochester, declared it unlawful, and put their name and seal to their decision. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, put Fisher's name and seal to it; but Fisher stedfastly maintained, that he never empowered him to do so.

Having removed Catherine from his bed, Henry applied to Pope Clement VII. for a divorce. However willing Clement would have been that Henry had sued out his divorce in England, and married another, and got a legantine confirmation of his marriage, he was very unwilling to displease Charles the emperor, whose favour he needed against the Protestants, and shifted off the affair the best way he could. Campegius was at last dispatched for England with legantine powers, and a bull of divorce to be shown to Henry and Wolsey, but with secret instructions to spin out the affair as long as possible. The matter was begun in the legantine court by Campegius and Wolsey. Catherine, who had absolutely refused to retire into a monastery, or to consent to her own divorce, and had employed the interest of the emperor and other friends abroad to prevent it, appeared once and again before the legates, but appealed

the cause to the Pope himself. Campegius adjourned the court till the ensuing October. Meanwhile the Pope called the cause before himself, and cited Henry to his bar. Henry commanded the Earl of Wiltshire to protest against the citation as contrary to his royal prerogative; and, in a letter signed by Cardinal Wolsey, four bishops, two dukes, two marquisses, thirteen earls, two viscounts, twenty-three barons, twenty-two abbots, and eleven commoners, the Pope was entreated to confirm the judgment of so many learned men. Henry disdained to send any to represent him as a pannel: but he sent some to excuse his non-compearance; and if possible to draw the cardinals to his side. While Henry was fretted with delays, Wolsey's enemies, and even Anne of Boleyn, his former friend, represented him to his majesty as a treacherous conniver with Campegius, and a betrayer of his master's interests. They prosecuted him for accepting his legantine powers, and in other different forms. As Henry had given him warrants for many things charged upon him as criminal, he sometimes pretended to protect him. But, when he thought his danger over, he was arrested for high treason, and poisoned himself in his way to the tower, confessing, That if he had served his God as faithfully as he had done his king, he would not have abandoned him in his old age.

In September 1530, Henry published a proclamation, prohibiting all purchasing of any thing from Rome under the severest penalties, and declaring his intention to annex the ecclesiastical supremacy to his crown. Foreseeing, that the clergy would startle at the last, he indicted them

all as guilty of acknowledging and submitting to Wolsey's legantine powers, and by the *statute of premunire*, declared them to be out of his protection, and to have forfeited all their estates and goods to his use. Finding themselves at his mercy, they gladly submitted to a fine of 118,840 pounds Sterling for his exchequer; and to acknowledge him their *spiritual Head*. They readily advanced the money; and promised never more to meet in convocation, or to make any canons without his majesty's allowance. But they thought a layman's headship over the church so absurd in itself, and so inconsistent with their allegiance to the Pope, that they insisted to add this clause, *as far as agreeable to the laws of Christ*, in their acknowledgment of it. Henry for the present admitted their clause.

The parliament meeting in 1532, the Commons thought it a proper season for securing themselves and their people against ecclesiastical oppressions; and even the clergy, finding that their prosecutions of men without any accuser; causing them accuse themselves on oath; or obliging them to abjure what opinions they pleased, or be burnt, were very disagreeable,—resolved to amend their customs. The parliament restricted the protection of clerical criminals; explained and enforced the statute of *Mortmain*, which prohibited the alienation of lands to the church without consent of his majesty and other immediate superiors. They prohibited the payment of annats and first fruits to Rome. They declared, that no excommunication on account of adherence to these laws should be regarded. Henry at first consented to these laws only for a year. But when the convocation besought him to pre-

serve the liberties of the church, he replied, That no ecclesiastical constitutions should hereafter be made or executed, without his consent ; that, as some of the provincial ones already enacted, were inconsistent with his prerogative, he intended to have them all examined by a committee of 32 persons, half of them clergymen, and the rest members of parliament, that such as were found improper might be abrogated, and those that agreed with the law of God and his prerogative might be confirmed by his royal assent. The clergy were obliged to submit. Sir Thomas More seeing whither matters were tending, resigned the Great Seal, and Warham Archbishop of Canterbury died.

Cranmer's book against Henry's marriage with his brother's widow, and his manful disputing against it in the foreign universities, procured him Henry's peculiar favour, and therewith the archbishopric of Canterbury. Apprehensive of the critical nature of the times, and having his affections fixed upon a young lady, he accepted the charge with the utmost reluctance. At an interview, Francis, the French king, pretending great friendship for Henry, advised him neither to go himself to Rome, nor send any agents to prosecute his divorce, but secretly to marry Anne of Boleyn, now Duchess of Pembroke, and he would stand by the marriage. Henry did so about the 14th of November 1532 : but it is scarcely possible that Cranmer could be present. Notwithstanding the contest relative to the divorce, Clement readily granted to Cranmer the bulls and pall for his archbishopric. Fearing that his oath of obedience to the Pope might interfere with his majesty's authority, or bind him up from

necessary reformation, Cranmer took it with a protestation against that which he thought wrong in it. Meanwhile, Clement, instigated by the emperor, would neither grant Henry his divorce, nor allow it to be judged in England. The English convocation, at Cranmer's instalment, by a great majority, determined as the foreign universities had done ; but committed the question of Catherine's consummation of her marriage with Arthur, to the canonists, who determined, that the presumptions she had done it, were very strong. All the upper house of convocation, except the bishop of Bath and Wells, confirmed this. The convocation of York determined in the same manner, Hereupon, Henry avowed his marriage with Anne of Boleyn ; and appointed Cranmer to call a court to judge of the nullity of his marriage with Catherine.

The tidings of these transactions had provoked Clement to consign Henry into the hands of the devil, had not his moderate cardinals urged him to delay it. While Henry was on the point of a rupture with the Pope, the French king persuaded him to submit his cause to him and his cardinals, exclusive of the Imperialists, upon the condition of obtaining full satisfaction. Henry would not trust Clement's promise, unless he had it under his hand in writ ; nor would Clement trust Henry on any lower terms. Belley, bishop of Paris, was dispatched from Rome with Clement's engagement to Henry ; and a day was fixed for the return of Henry's submission of his cause. Four Frenchified cardinals were added, to overbalance the friends of the emperor. Meanwhile, the emperor's agents so assiduously laboured with the Pope, that he promised to re-

voke his engagement, if Henry's return should not come on the very day appointed. As, perhaps, through the bearer's mistake of his way, the return had not come up within that time, Clement brought the affair before his consistory of cardinals; and notwithstanding Belley's earnest pleadings for a delay, and contrary to common order, concluded it in their first sederunt, declaring Henry's marriage with Catherine *valid*, and requiring him to take her back to his bed, under pain of the highest ecclesiastical censure. Within a day or two, the English courier came up with Henry's submission: but Clement could not, with honour to his infallibility, immediately revoke his decision. Thus Providence shut up Henry to a breach with the Romish court. Altogether enraged with his disappointment, and that he had debased his supremacy in making his unfruitful submission, Henry resolved to make the Romish see feel the weight of his resentment. He had already restricted the clerical prerogatives; and for some years his learned subjects had been examining the foundations of the Pope's authority; and all, except Fisher of Rochester, were persuaded, that it had nothing to support it from Scripture, Reason, Fathers, or Decrees of ancient councils.

When the parliament met in January 1534, a bishop preached every Lord's day at Paul's cross, preparing the minds of the subjects for the intended change; and teaching, That the Pope had no right to authority in England. The parliament confirmed their former act, prohibiting the payment of Annats; prohibited the presentation of candidates for bishoprics to the Pope, or asking his instalment; appointed bishops to be

elected by the chapter of the see, upon a licence from the king nominating the candidate,—who, after swearing faithful allegiance to his majesty, should have a commission granted for his consecration, and be invested with a right to the temporalities of the bishopric. They rendered the laws against heretics more agreeable to those of the kingdom. They appointed, that thirty-two persons should examine all the ecclesiastical canons of England, and abrogate such as they found contrary to his majesty's prerogative and the laws of the land, or good of the subjects,—till the finishing of which, the present canons were to be held binding, unless they were plainly derogatory to the royal prerogative and established laws and customs of the nation. As this uncertain state of the canons left Henry full power to explain them, or allow them to be executed or not, these commissioners never met. Elizabeth Barton, the holy maid of Kent, instigated by the Pope's agents, pretended inspiration; and, to animate his subjects against Henry, for opposing the Pontifical power, predicted his shameful death within a month, if he divorced his queen, and married another. She was attainted, and five of her accomplices lost their lives.

When the parliament received the news of Clement's decision against Henry their sovereign, they, especially such as favoured the Reformation, resolved to tear up his authority in England by the roots. They declared the whole kingdom freed from all dependence on Rome; they ordered all payments to the apostolic chamber of provisions, bulls, and dispensations, for ever to cease; that all dispensations not contrary to the law of God should be hereafter granted by

the two archbishops ; and that no licence in any matter not formerly dispensed with should be granted, till it should be examined by his majesty and his council. They empowered the king to visit and correct the abuses of the monasteries. They suggested, that the Old and New Testaments were considered as the *rule of faith*. They declared Henry's marriage with Anne *valid* ; settled the crown on the issue of it ; and prohibited all, under pain of misprison of treason, to slander said marriage, or its issue, or this solemn approbation of it. They took an oath of allegiance to Henry as *Head of the church*, instead of the Pope ; and to maintain the succession of the crown to the issue of his present marriage ; and to renounce all allegiance to the Pope. Not long after, this oath was imposed on the clergy and many other subjects. They required clergymen to preach nothing but what was agreeable to scripture and catholic tradition. Sir Thomas More and bishop Fisher, who had before so zealously promoted the burning of all such as could not believe transubstantiation, now lost their lives, because they scrupled at Henry's marriage with Anne, and at the oath relative to ecclesiastical supremacy. In November, this year, the parliament confirmed Henry's supreme headship over the church, particularly in correcting errors and heresies ; and, to the no small grief of the clergy, granted him the annats and tithes of all ecclesiastical preferments, which had been formerly given to the Pope. They framed an oath concerning the succession of the crown, and required persons of all ranks to take it. They declared it high treason to speak against his majesty, or his present queen, or to call him an

heretic, schismatic, tyrant, or usurper. And they made provision for the suffragan bishops.

When Paul III. was made Pope, Henry, by his minister Cassils, applied to him for his reconsidering his cause. Paul was exceedingly desirous of a reconciliation with England; but the news of some friars and of Sir Thomas More and bishop Fisher being executed for refusing to renounce their allegiance to the Roman see, made him lose all hopes of it. He therefore delivered Henry into the hand of the devil and his angels, absolved all his subjects from their allegiance to him, commanded all ecclesiastics to leave the kingdom, and all the nobles to take up arms against him; prohibited all other Christians to have any dealings with the English; laid the kingdom under an interdict of divine service; annulled all treaties made with Henry by foreign princes since his marriage with Anne of Boleyn; and declared the issue of it spurious, and incapable of succeeding to the crown.

The oath, approving of his majesty's marriage, and the succession of the issue of it to the crown, and renouncing the Papal authority, had been administered by commissioners all over the nation. The spread of *Tindal's New Testament*, and of the *Beggar's supplication*, which was chiefly directed against the lazy monks as devourers of that which belonged to the poor, had contributed to the conviction of severals. But the bulk of the nation still continued zealous for Popery. Such as dared to oppose it were in danger of being burnt or otherwise persecuted. But the queen, Lord Cromwel, afterwards Earl of Essex, Archbishop Cranmer, Shaxton of Salisbury, and Latimer of Worcester, who studied to

promote the Reformation, had influence with Henry, while Bishop Gardner, the Duke of Norfolk, and others, did their utmost to oppose it. None were more averse to it than the cloistered monks, who openly declared against the king's procedure, begged the people to take up arms against him, and laboured to embroil him with foreign princes. To humble their pride, Henry appointed Lord Cromwel, who had once been Wolsey's servant, but was now made his majesty's *vicegerent in spiritual affairs*, instead of the Pope's legate, and others, to visit their monasteries in the manner which he prescribed. To prevent a trial of their behaviour, some voluntarily surrendered their monasteries into his hand. Others, upon examination, were found guilty of the most abominable frauds. Multitudes of pretended relics were exposed and destroyed. Images of pretended saints were taken down and burnt, and the rich oblations made to their shrines converted to the king's use.—Faction, and lewdness of the most unnatural kind, were every where found. Having considered the reports of the Commissioners for the visitation, the Parliament agreed to suppress 376 of the smaller monasteries, and to give their plate and other furniture, to the value of about £100,000 Sterling, and their rents, amounting to £32,000 *per annum*, to the king. About ten thousand monks were turned out, each of them with forty-five shillings, equal to about the value of £27 at present, to carry them beyond sea, or to live on till he could work; and their governors had yearly pensions granted them. To ease the nation, these pensionaries were thrust into vacancies as fast as possible; and

hence most of the inferior clergy became inveterate enemies to the Reformation. In 1537 and 1539, the greater monasteries were surrendered into his majesty's hand, to prevent an examination of their manners. The clear rents of all the suppressed houses amounted to £131,607, 6s. 4d.: but their true value was at least ten times more. With £18,000 of this revenue Henry intended to erect 18 small bishoprics: but no more than those of Westminster, Chester, Peterborough, Oxford, Gloucester, and Bristol, were actually founded. To prevent the ecclesiastics' resumption of their property, most of the abbey lands were given to courtiers, or sold to the gentry at an easy rate. In 1545, the parliament complimented Henry with the chantries, colleges, free chapels, hospitals, fraternities, and guilds, with their manors and estates, together with 70 manors and parks, which had belonged to the archbishop of York, and 12 pertaining to his Lordship of Canterbury.

Tindal's New Testament had been prohibited in 1530. By the money with which the copies of it were bought up for destruction, he was enabled to translate the Old, and publish it along with the New, corrected. This, corrected by Cranmer, was, contrary to all the solicitations of Gardiner and his party, published by authority. But, to avoid the odious name of Tindal, who had been burnt for an heretic in Flanders, it was called Mathew's, or Cranmer's Bible. Meanwhile, notwithstanding her piety and virtue, Queen Anne, by her airy and imprudent behaviour, and by the accusations of her Popish enemies, fell under a suspicion of infidelity, about

three years after her marriage. Inwardly burning with lust after another, Henry was highly offended with her, for bearing him a *dead son*, as Catherine had done. She was quickly attainted; and, to please Henry, condemned without any shadow of proof, and beheaded, May 19, 1536, as guilty of a precontract of marriage with some other man, and of plotting Henry's death. She died solemnly protesting her innocence. Next day, Henry married Jean Seymour, the object of his outrageous lust. Soon after, Anne's daughter, Elizabeth, was declared a bastard, as Mary the daughter of Catherine had been a little before. Both parliament and convocation declared Anne's marriage null and void.

Complaints of different doctrines delivered from pulpits being transmitted to court, Henry, whose spiritual headship rendered bishops and all their underlings and offices mere creatures of his crown, by a circular letter to the former, prohibited all preaching for about three months, till proper *articles of faith* were published by his direction and authority, and signed by Cranmer and 17 other bishops, 40 abbots, 50 archdeacons, besides proctors. In these, the Old and New Testaments, the Creeds, attributed to the Apostles, Council of Nice, and Athanasius, were made the standard of faith, without any regard to the decrees of the Popes. Justification through the righteousness of Christ alone is asserted; but the renovation of our nature is represented as a part of it. The sacraments of *confirmation*, *marriage*, *ordination*, and *extreme unction* are omitted. Baptism is represented as necessary to salvation, and the washing away of original sin, *Transubstantiation*, *auricular confession*, and *penance*,

along with the *worship of saints and images*, are retained. Prayer for the dead is commended, and Purgatory left doubtful. Cranmer consented, in hopes of obtaining better articles afterward. But few, either Papists or Protestants, were pleased.

Provoked with these articles, but especially with the suppression of the monasteries, in which many received alms, many got places for their idle friends, and prayers and masses were carried on night and day for their deceased relations' deliverance from purgatory; and, animated by the Pope's bull above-mentioned, and the incendiary declamations of the monks, multitudes of Papists took arms against the government. In Lincolnshire, a monk headed 20,000 of them: but a proclamation of pardon dispersed them. The Duke of Norfolk headed a more formidable party in the north. The heads of this conspiracy, among which were sundry abbots and priests, were apprehended and executed. These insurrections provoked Henry against the remaining monasteries, as nurseries of rebellion. He resumed 31, which he had before given back to the monks. The shrine of St. Becket, to which the English devotees had marked infinitely more regard than to Jesus Christ, in their annual devotions, having given to it, in one year, about a £1000 Sterling, when they had not given one farthing to its rival altar of Jesus Christ, was demolished.

Meanwhile, Henry, by virtue of his spiritual supremacy, published certain *Injunctions* for regulating the behaviour of the clergy, bearing, That they should every quarter of a year preach twice against the Pope's supremacy, and in defence of

the king's ; that they should publish his late *articles of faith*, and proclamation for the abolishment of some holy days in harvest ; that they should instruct their people to make no pilgrimages to saints, or their relics ; but stay at home and mind their family, keep God's commandments, and teach them, and the Creed, and Lord's prayer in English, to their children ; that they should carefully dispense the sacraments in their parishes ; that they should not frequent taverns, nor sit long at gaming, but apply themselves to the study of the Scriptures, and of a good life ; that every one who had £20 a-year, and did not reside at his charge, should pay £5 to the poor, and every one that had £100 should maintain a student at the university, or as many students as they had hundreds a-year ; that a fifth part of the livings should be applied for repairing the vicars' houses, if decayed. Thus Henry commanded the very things for which Wickliffites and Lutherans had been burnt.

Much about the same time, Cranmer, Latimer, and other eight bishops and some divines, published the *Instruction of a Christian Man*. It maintains, That our Saviour descended into the local hell ; that all articles of faith are to be interpreted according to the scriptures, and the decrees of the first four general councils : It maintains the doctrine of seven sacraments, and of transubstantiation : It restricts the clergy to two orders, *bishops* and *deacons* ; and affirms, that, according to the word of God, no bishop hath authority over others. It restricts the invocation of saints to a desire of their intercession with God for us : It maintains, That churches

ought to be dedicated to none but God : It allows handy labour on saints days, especially during the harvest : It maintains the doctrine of justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ, and of passive obedience to the king. Not long after, Lord Cromwel procured Henry's allowance for all his subjects to read the Bible published by Cranmer, and an order to have a copy of it set up in every church, that it might be read between sermons, or at other times, by the people.

Queen Jean's death in child-bed of prince Edward ; Henry's breach with the German Protestants, who refused to receive him as the Head of their league, unless he abandoned transubstantiation, and allowed the people the cup in the eucharist ; the umbrage which he conceived against Cranmer and other reforming bishops for not consenting in parliament to his appropriation of the suppressed monasteries, or cheap sale of them to his favourite courtiers ; the hand which Lord Cromwel and other reformers had in his disliked and almost immediately annulled marriage of Anne of Cleves ; the artifices of Bishop Gardner, Bonner, and other Papists, together with his own peevish humour, proved a remarkable check to every attempt toward further reformation. From henceforth to his death, Henry prohibited all importing of foreign books, or printing any part of scripture, before they were examined by him and his council, or the bishop of the diocese. He commanded that all decriers of the old Popish ceremonies should be punished ; and that such as argued against transubstantiation should be put to death. On this foot, pious

Lambert, whose last words were, *None but Christ, none but Christ*, was condemned and burnt.

In 1539, the parliament made the state of religion still worse by their act of the *Six Articles*, which established transubstantiation ; the withholding of the sacramental cup from the people ; the celibate of the clergy ; vows of single life in others ; private mass ; and auricular confession : and enacted, That whosoever should speak, preach, or write against transubstantiation should be burnt as heretics, and their estates be forfeited to the king ; and such as should dispute against the other points mentioned, should suffer death as felons, without benefit of clergy ; that such as merely spoke or wrote against them, should, for the first fault, forfeit all they had to the king, and lie in prison during his pleasure, and for the second suffer death.—All the clergy were appointed to read this act from their pulpits once every quarter of a-year. Cranmer opposed the making of it for three days. Bishop Shaxton and Latimer were cast into prison for speaking against it. Latimer continued there till Henry's death. But Shaxton recanted ; and under Mary became a most furious persecutor. Henry, having granted commissions to the bishops and their commissaries to hold quarterly meetings for prosecuting of offenders against said act, five hundred were immediately imprisoned, But his pardoning of Cranmer and Lord Cromwel discouraged the Popish zealots, till they had got the latter destroyed. This parliament also enacted, That proclamations of the king, or under his seal, should be held of equal authority with an act of parliament, if they were consistent with the standing laws and customs of the realm, and did

not extend to loss of estate, liberty, or life. They also appointed the remaining monasteries and religious houses to be suppressed; which was quickly done. Thus, in a few years, 643 monasteries, 90 colleges, 110 hospitals, and 2374 chantries and free chapels, were emptied of their inhabitants and furniture, and many of them demolished. Their valuable libraries were, through ignorance, often sold to bookbinders for a trifle.

Lord Cromwel's hand in Henry's marriage with the immediately disliked princess of Cleves, lost him his wonted favour. The Duke of Norfolk feared his opposing of Henry's marriage with Miss Howard, Queen Anne's cousin, who was executed about a year after for lewdness. The Papists hated him for his activity in promoting reformation. He was therefore attainted of high treason in much the same manner he had done some relations of Cardinal Pole, sometime before. As it is probable he had Henry's order for doing what was laid to his charge, he was condemned without being allowed to speak in his own vindication. Almost immediately after execution, two Lutheran ministers, who had been condemned unheard, were burnt for hints against Popery in their sermons; while four Papists, who had denied Henry's supremacy, were hanged. About this time, Henry, having corrected a tract called the *Erudition of a Christian man*, drawn up by some divines, and approved by the parliament, published it as the *standard of the faith* of his subjects. Its matter and plan were much like to those of the *Institutions* above mentioned. An order for reading the English Bible seems to have been issued about this time.

About this time, bishop Bonner of London published some Injunctions for his clergy, which, from their nature, seem to have been imposed on him by Henry, probably at the request of Cranmer. They required clergymen to read every day a chapter of the Bible with some gloss upon it, and to study the book compiled by the bishops; that no curate should be employed without being first examined by the bishop or his officers; that they should instruct their people in English, how to believe, pray, and live according to the will of God; that they should endeavour to reconcile such as were at variance, and be good examples of love and forgiveness to their flock; that they should permit none to go to taverns or alehouses, or to use unlawful games on Sabbaths or holy days, in time of divine worship; that they should perform the duties of their office decently and diligently; use no unlawful games; and never go to ale-houses or taverns without urgent necessity; that no plays or interludes should be acted in their churches; that, in preaching, they should explain the whole *gospel* and *epistle* for the day, according to the opinion of some learned doctor, and insist chiefly on such places as may best stir up their hearers to prayer and good works; that none below a bishop should preach without a licence from his majesty, or the bishop of the diocese.—When Popery prevailed, few sermons were preached but in Lent; and in these, scarce any care was taken to acquaint hearers with the mind of God, but to extol the ceremonies of the church, and stir up men to an enthusiastic devotion.—Cranmer did what he could to provide proper preachers, and to leave the most eminent to labour in an itinerant man-

ner. But so few could be had, that the most of the nation continued in gross ignorance. To help the weak, and restrain the wicked and erroneous from misleading the people, a *Book of Homilies* on the *epistles* and *gospels* for the year, containing plain paraphrases on, and practical exhortations from them, was published, which were to be read to congregations, by persons not licensed to preach.—Meanwhile, the licensed preachers having frequent complaints brought to his majesty against them, began, for their own security, to read their sermons; and so introduced that lifeless and absurd custom, now so common in the British dominions.

In 1543, the parliament indirectly established the contents of the *Erudition of a Christian man*. Henry was submitted to as an infallible Pope, having the faith and consciences of his subjects at his disposal. Even Cranmer and his reforming brethren believed the whole government of the church to depend on the magistrates' will; and hence took out their commissions to hold their bishoprics only during his majesty's pleasure, and to exercise authority by his direction and allowance. In 1544, a faint attempt was made to reform the ecclesiastical worship. Henry published an *Exhortation to Prayer*, and a *Litany*, in which the Virgin Mary, angels, arch-angels, and all the orders of blessed sants were invoked. The rest of it was much the same with that which is still used in the English church. No doubt Cranmer had a hand in the composition; but as his power with Henry was now much sunk, it was little regarded by the subjects. He also obtained some mitigation of the bloody statute of the *Six Articles*, That

none should be convicted upon it, but by the oaths of twelve persons; and that all information against preaching should be within forty days, and the prosecution within a year. Nevertheless, Belenian, Adams, Liscals, Anne Askew, and others, were burnt, because they were not able to believe transubstantiation. All the books published by Tindal, Frith, Joy, Barnes, and other Protestants, were ordered to be burnt. The Parliament appeared in earnest to reduce the nation to their wonted darkness of Popery. They declared the catholic church judge of all controversies in religion; they appointed Tindal's Bibles, and all books contrary to the *six articles* set forth, or to what may be set forth by his Majesty, to be destroyed; they condemned all writings against transubstantiation; they prohibited all annotations upon, or preambles to English Bibles, or New Testaments; they prohibited all reading the Bible in churches—or of the English New Testament by husbandmen, artificers, apprentices, servants, women, or any other of weak capacities, or low stations; they enacted, that whoever should be convicted of preaching or maintaining any thing contrary to his Majesty's *instructions* made or to be made, should for the first offence recant; for the second bear a faggot; and for the third be burnt. Thus stood matters respecting religion, when the proud, peevish, and corpulent Henry VIII. died of an ulcer in his leg, January 28, A. D. 1547.

HIS son Edward, a hopeful youth of *nine* years of age, succeeded him. His father, in his last will, had named sixteen persons to govern the kingdom, till he should be *eighteen* years of age,

to whom other twelve were added, as privy counsellors. The Earl of Hartford, uncle of Edward, and afterward Duke of Somerset, was chosen *protector*. King Edward himself, the Archbishops Cranmer and Holgate, the Bishops Holbeach, Goodric, Latimer, and Ridley, with Secretary Paget and Admiral Lisle, were the most noted on the Protestant side. The Princess Mary, the Earl of Southampton, and Bishops Tonsal, Gardner, and Bonner, supported the Popish.—Power being chiefly in the hands of the Protestants, all prosecution upon the statute of the *six articles* was stopt; and such as had been imprisoned for religion were liberated. Miles Coverdale, afterward Bishop of Exeter, Hooper of Gloucester, John Rogers, and many other exiles for truth, came home, and served in the church. Immediately after Edward's coronation, Protestants began to preach against the use of images in churches, and of masses for souls departed.

Having begun their administration, the Regents and counsellors, as in the former reign, required the bishops to take out new commissions, bearing their subjection to his Majesty, and that they held their offices and privileges only during his pleasure. This, Cranmer and his fellow reformers hoped would bridle such as inclined to Popery. As the inferior clergy, and even most of the bishops were intolerably ignorant, Cranmer, assisted by some others, composed a *second book of homilies*, or plain discourses of the fundamental articles of the Christian religion, to be read where none was able to preach. These, to the number of twelve, related to the use of Scripture; the misery of mankind by sin; salvation

by Christ; true faith; good works; Christian love; oaths; apostacy; fear of death; obedience to superiors; whoredom; and religious contention. To procure the consent of Gardner, Cranmer shewed them first to him; but he would hear of no alteration in doctrine, till Edward should be major. Nevertheless, the greater part of the Regents approved them.

As Henry, by one of his last acts of Parliament, had empowered his son's council to issue forth proclamations of equal authority with those of the King, the Regents resolved to begin with a general visitation of the church; a letter was dispatched in Edward's name to all the Bishops, suspending their jurisdiction during the time of visitation; and prohibiting the other clergy to preach without his licence any where but in their own churches. This was intended to restrain the Popish priests from spreading mischief, while Protestant preachers could obtain licence to preach, wherever they had opportunity. In this visitation the kingdom was divided into six circuits, and two gentlemen, a civilian, a divine, and a register, were appointed for each. As the divines were intended for the instruction of the people, as well as for examination of ecclesiastical affairs, six of the most grave and popular, Ridley, Madew, Briggs, Cottisford, Joseph, and Farrar, were appointed for this work. Along with the late *homilies*, these visitors carried with them thirty-six *instructions* from Edward, to be distributed among the Bishops and parochial clergy, many of them the same with these formerly prescribed by Lord Cromwel, when he visited the churches, as Vicar General, under Henry VIII. They principally required, that

all ecclesiastical persons should observe the laws relative to the King's prerogatives; should preach once every quarter of a year against pilgrimages and prayers to images, and exhort to works of faith and charity; that such images as had been abused to superstition, should be taken down by the clergy only; that where no sermon is, the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments, be repeated from the pulpit to the people; that, within three months, every church be provided with a Bible, and, within twelve, with Erasmus's Paraphrase upon the New Testament; that none who cannot repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, or who are at enmity with their neighbours, be admitted to the Lord's Supper; that the *Gospel* and *Epistle* at high mass, and the first and second *Lesson* for every Sabbath and holy day be read in English; that one chapter of the New Testament be read at *Mattins*, and another of the Old at *Even-song*; that clergymen often visit the sick, and instruct them with passages of Scripture in English; that, for avoiding disputes about precedence, there be no more processions around churches or churchyards; that all shrines, tables, candlesticks, trindills, or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and other monuments of idolatry, or feigned miracles, be removed from churches, &c. that the people be instructed not to despise the ceremonies still retained; but to beware of sprinkling their beds with holy water, ringing of bells, or using of consecrated candles for driving away devils; that patrons who dispose of livings, by simoniacal pactions, shall for that time forfeit their right of presentation to the King; that the *Book of homilies* be read; that dignified clergymen, be-

low Bishops, shall at least preach twice a-year ; that priests shall be reverently and charitably used for their works sake. These, and some others, respecting instruction and order, were enjoined under pain of excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation, as their ordinaries should answer to the King. The injunctions for Bishops required, that they should see to their clergy and people's exact observation of the preceding injunctions ; should preach four times a year, within their own diocese, unless they had a reasonable excuse ; that their chaplains should be able and diligent preachers of God's word ; that they should ordain none but such as would preach the doctrine set forth in the *homilies*. Gardner and Bonner refused to comply with these injunctions ; and on that account were imprisoned, but soon after liberated.

The Parliament having met, repealed all the laws which made any thing treasonable, but what had been specified in the act of the twenty-fifth of Edward III. They repealed the act of the *Six Articles*, and what depended on it, together with the acts that made the royal proclamations of equal authority with acts of Parliament, or declared any thing *felony*, which was not held such before. They enacted, that whoever should own the Pope's supremacy, or write against that of the King, or should burlesque the administration of the Lord's Supper, now to be in both bread and wine, should be punished ; that all private masses should be disused ; that all bishops shall be appointed by his Majesty's letters patent, and continue in office only during his pleasure ; that all processes in spiritual courts be carried on in his name, and sealed with his seal, excepting

some courts belonging to the archbishop of Canterbury. Contrary to the solicitations of Cranmer, and his fellow bishops, they bestowed on Edward all the lands of chantries, which had not been granted to his father, with all the oblations pertaining to them for *obits*, *anniversaries*, and *lamps*, together with the guild lands enjoyed by any fraternities on like accounts. They also commanded monks to remain in their places, and apply themselves to handy labour: but this act was soon after repealed. The convocation, which chiefly consisted of Papists, did little more than allow the lawfulness of priests' marriage, and of giving the sacramental cup to the people. The lower house petitioned the upper, that the commission of thirty-two for reforming the ecclesiastical laws might be revived; that what the bishops and divines had done, for correcting the offices for divine service, might be laid before them, and that the inferior clergy might be readmitted into the House of Commons, or at least no act relative to religion or the clergy, be made without their consent.

The Protestants abroad laboured under terrible distress, several of them fled into England.—Of these Peter Martyr was made professor of divinity at Oxford, and Bucer at Cambridge.—Ochinus, who afterwards prepared the way for Socinianism, and Fagius, had pensions granted them, and were of excellent use in the universities. Meanwhile, the common people of England continued mad upon their old heathenish rites, processions, wakes, carrying of candles, &c. The pulpitory contentions between Popish and Protestant preachers was exceeding great. All preaching without licenses from his Majesty, or

the primate, was therefore prohibited, till an uniformity in worship should be got established. Two archbishops, and sixteen or seventeen bishops, and six divines, were appointed to examine and reform the offices of the church. They began with the Eucharist, and left it much the same as in the mass book, and only added what was necessary to correspond with the communion in both kinds. They left auricular confession as a matter indifferent. After receiving the Lord's Supper, the priest was directed to turn himself to the people, and read the exhortation, and then required the impenitent to withdraw, lest the devil should enter into them with the elements. After a little pause, followed the confession of sins and absolution. At the end of this office, was hinted his Majesty's intent to proceed to further reformation. In correcting the other offices of worship, they overlooked the word of God, and composed the *evening* and *morning service*, as it now stands, from the Popish missals of Sarum, York, Hereford, Bangor, and Lincoln. Only there was no confession or absolution. From the same materials, they formed the Litany as at present. Only Elizabeth caused strike out the prayer for deliverance from the detestable enormities of Popery. Before that time, it was common for preachers, after reading of their text, to bid prayers, directing the people for whom, and what they should pray, that every one might then pray silently by himself. In the office of baptism, the child's forehead and breast was to be marked with the sign of the cross, the devil to be expelled by exorcism, and the child thrice dipped in the font on its sides and breast, unless it was very weak. It was then to be wrapped in

white vestments, and to be anointed with oil on the head, with a short prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost. In confirmation, the children being catechized, the bishop signed them with the sign of the cross, and laid his hands upon them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. In the office for burial, the soul of the deceased was recommended to the mercy of God; and forgiveness of sin, ready admission to heaven, and a happy resurrection at the last day, prayed for. To the grief of Hooper, Rogers, and other foreign divines, who reckoned them appendages of the idolatrous mass, and badges of Antichrist, the Romish habits of clergymen were too earnestly retained by Cranmer and Ridley, for fear of too much displeasing the Papists.

This *book of common prayer* was never laid before the convocation. The Popish bishops of Norwich, Hereford, Chichester, and Wesminster, protested against it. But the Parliament, in January 1549, appointed it to be used through the whole kingdom, under pain of six months' imprisonment, and loss of a year's salary, for the first fault—forfeiture of all their preferments, and a year's imprisonment for the second—forfeiture of all their goods, and imprisonment for life for the third. This Parliament permitted the marriage of priests, and, for the encouragement of fishing, prohibited eating of flesh in Lent. The Princess Mary absolutely refused compliance with this new liturgy. The most of the people were highly displeased with it, being exceedingly sorry to lose their *wakes, processions, many holidays, censuring of images, church ales, &c.* Peter Martyr was molested for his theological instructions at Oxford. He offered to defend his doctrine.—

Not long after, a public disputation was held.—Ridley had another at Cambridge. The Popish disputants deeply entrenched themselves in the unintelligible jargon of the schoolmen, while Martyr and Ridley placed their principal dependence on the oracles of God. Both parties claimed the victory.

Not content with words, the Popish clergy roused their votaries to arms. The rebels in Devonshire amounted to ten thousand strong. They demanded of Edward a restoration of the *Six Articles*; the performance of mass in Latin; the elevation and adoration of the sacred wafer in the Eucharist; the withholding of the sacramental cup from the people; the re-erection of images in churches; the renewal of supplications for souls in purgatory; the calling in, and prohibiting of all English Bibles; the rejection of the new service book; and restoration of the old forms of worship. The court returned them a soft answer; but only the edge of the sword could bring them to reason. In Norfolk, the rebels, headed by one Ket, a tanner, amounted to twenty thousand; but the Earl of Warwick, with scarce eight thousand, dispersed them. Meanwhile, Bonner of London, being suspected of disloyalty, was appointed to preach a sermon, in which he should declare his persuasion of the King's supremacy: but having hated, or forgotten to do so, he was deposed and imprisoned, and Ridley of Westminster was also made bishop of London. Some anabaptists having fled hither from Germany, were hunted out and prosecuted for their enthusiastical nonsense and blasphemy. Joan Bocker, a woman plainly delirious, was burnt for some whimsical expressions concerning our

Saviour's not being conceived of the substance of Mary. Cranmer, to his lasting reproach, instigated the reluctant Prince to sign the warrant for her execution. George Vann, a poor harmless devotee of the same sect, was also committed to the flames, for perhaps very ignorantly affirming, that only the Father is the true God.

In A. D. 1550, the Parliament revived Henry's act for appointing thirty-two commissioners to reform the ecclesiastical canons, and named the persons for this work. They finished their work in fifty-one sections. Edward dying before it received his confirmation, it never had the royal sanction annexed to it : but Archbishop Parker published a copy of it under the title of *Reformatio legum Anglicanarum*, &c. in which no punishment is mentioned for heretics. The Parliament also authorized a *book of ordination* compiled by six bishops and six divines, which is much the same with that now in use. In consequence of all these reformations in worship, the council ordered all clergymen to deliver up their *mass-books* and other *formulas* to proper persons appointed by the King.

Ridley, now Bishop of London, began to visit his diocese. Besides the above-mentioned injunctions, the council now appointed him and his episcopal brethren to remove all altars out of churches, and provide communion tables in their stead,—that so people might no more imagine the Lord's Supper a sacrifice. Day, Bishop of Chichester, and Heath of Worcester, insisted, that Christians have an altar,—and refused to obey the council, and on that account were deprived of their office. Popular preachers were sent through the country, to remove men's pre-

judices against the removal of the altars, which had no contemptible effect. As the people imagined that the priestly apparel added superior virtue and sanctity to their ministrations, it would have been proper to correct their mistake. Hooper, who had resided at Zurich in Switzerland, during the debates concerning the unlawfulness of compliance with things indifferent in themselves, when abused to superstition, occasioned by the emperor's *Interim form of religion*, having returned home, and preached with great applause, was appointed Bishop of Gloucester by Edward's letters patent. He declined accepting it, as he abhorred the swearing by saints, even before the Holy Ghost, in the oath of supremacy. Convinced of the justness of his objection, Edward struck out that phrase. Hooper also looked on the use of the Popish vestments as sinful. Edward and his council were inclined to dispense with the habits; but Cranmer, and especially Ridley and Goodric, insisted, that as the things were indifferent in themselves, they ought to be retained in obedience to the law. Hooper consulted Peter Martyr, Bucer, and the Genevan and Swiss divines on this point. They were all of opinion, that these relics of Popery ought to be removed from the church; but thought that Hooper might comply rather than be rendered useless, and breed a schism in a reforming church. His case was truly pitiable. His brethren would neither suffer him to live without being a bishop, nor admit him in the manner his conscience approved. After suffering confinement, imprisonment, and other hardships, he, at last, consented to permit others to put on the vestments at his consecration, and once at court. Being admit-

ted, he laboured beyond his strength, preaching sometimes twice or thrice a-day, to the poor people, that hungered after the word of God. Most of the reforming clergy, particularly Latimer, Coverdale, Taylor, Philpot, Bradford, Samson, &c. were of the same mind with Hooper concerning the habits. Nay, even Cranmer and Ridley seem to have relaxed their bigotry; and, to increase the friends of reformation, admitted Samson and others without them, if they did not also intend to procure an act for their abolishment. It is certain, that when they died martyrs they contemned them. And indeed, it was strange for men of such piety and sense, to mark such immoderate zeal for trifles, in a country where John a Lasco and other foreigners were allowed to worship God in their own manner.

Gardner and his other Popish clergy did not reckon the deeds of the governing council valid, nor themselves bound to obey them. After he had been imprisoned for his disobedience, Gardner still behaved contemptibly, and was therefore deprived of his bishopric, and sent to the Tower, in which he continued prisoner till Queen Mary relieved him. As he and his brethren had taken out commissions for their office, only during his majesty's pleasure, they could scarcely complain of such severities. His deprivation and Vesay's resignation on account of his old age, making way for Scory and Coverdale to fill their sees, the balance of the episcopal power was in the hand of the Reformers. They therefore proceeded to correct the doctrines of the church. Cranmer and Ridley drew up *forty-two articles*, the same in substance with the *thirty-nine* now used. After these had been corrected by some

Bishops, and again by Cranmer, they were ratified by the privy council, without being presented to either convocation or parliament. Along with them, was printed a short Catechism, composed, it is said, by Poinet, Bishop of Winchester, translated by Cranmer, and authorized by the king's letters patent.

The Reformers proceeded to a *second amendment* of their *Book of Common Prayer*. A short confession of sins and absolution of the penitent introduced the daily service; and a rehearsal of the ten commandments, with a short pause between each, while the people kneel, along with a declaration, That this posture did not import any adoration of the elements, introduced that of the *Communion*. To please the Papists, Elizabeth caused the last to be erased; but it was restored at the restoration of Charles II. The use of oil in confirmation; extreme unction; prayer for the dead in the office for burial; auricular confession; crossing in confirmation and the Lord's supper were laid aside. The parliament appointed this *Liturgy* alone to be used through the whole kingdom, after All-hallow 1552. They declared marriages of priests valid, and their children capable of heirship. They re-united the bishoprics of London and Westminster. Alas! that we should find them permitting fishers, reapers, and the like, to labour on the Lord's day!

Day, Bishop of Chichester, Heath of Worcester, and Tonsal of Durham, being deprived of their office, on account of disobedience to the laws, Edward appointed a visitation of all the churches, and to bring in all superfluous plate, &c. into the exchequer, or dispose of it for the benefit of the poor. Notwithstanding all this

reforming care, many of the courtiers were grasping at the church's property, while not a few clergymen were almost starved, and obliged to become kitchen clerks, surveyors, receivers, &c. for a livelihood. While many Protestants adorned their profession, others were a disgrace to it. Some principal Reformers were too much inclined to stretch the laws in their own favour, and to persecute such as were not of their opinion. Their progress in reformation, notwithstanding their many powerful and crafty opponents, and so deep rooted customs, is an admirable display of the interposing power of the Lord.

Both Edward and they intended to have proceeded further in removing the remains of Popery, and in settling the government and discipline of the church. In his *Diary*, he laments, that the ignorance, scandalous lives, and Popish inclinations of some of his bishops, hindered his restoring of the primitive discipline, in the manner he wished. Bucer presented to him a PLATFORM of discipline, bearing, That scandalous persons should be excluded from the sacraments; that the old Popish vestments should be laid aside; that there should be no half communion service; that god-fathers should not answer in name of children to be baptized; that the Lord's day should be strictly sanctified, and frequent fasts, but not Lent, observed; that bishops should apply themselves only to their spiritual employment; that co-adjutors should be added to some of them, and each of them have a council of presbyters; that country bishops should be set over twenty or thirty parishes, who should often convene their clergy, and strictly inspect them; that provincial Synods be held twice a-year, and

have commissioners from the king to observe their conduct. Cranmer was much of the same mind. He disliked the government of the church by convocations, in which deans, archdeacons, and cathedral clergy, have more influence than the representatives of the real pastors of the church. He appears to have drawn up a *more perfect Book of Common Prayer*, but could not get it introduced, on account of the Popish inclinations of his subordinate bishops and clergy.

The reformation of the English church being now at its height, it may be proper to observe, that in their doctrine of *original sin, predestination, justification, effectual grace*, and *good works*, they corresponded with Augustine and Calvin; that they were not satisfied with the discipline they had obtained, though they thought they might submit to it, till it could be rectified by authority; that they believed but two orders of clergy, viz. *bishops and deacons*, and that bishops and priests were but different ranks of the same order; and that they acknowledged fellowship with other Protestant churches, which had no bishops; and hence, till the end of Elizabeth's reign, they never urged any re-ordination of their presbyters.

As his sister MARY, as well as the queen of Scots, were Papists, and Elizabeth had been declared a bastard by the parliament, the Regents, or rather the Duke of Northumberland, advised Edward, still a minor, as he lay dying in 1553, to bequeath his crown to Jean Gray, eldest daughter to Lady Frances his cousin, and the Duke of Suffolk, a lady of extraordinary qualities, piety and zeal, and next in blood after the three prin-

cesses above mentioned. The council, and Cranmer himself, after much opposition to it, signed this disposal of the crown. To her great grief, Jean was proclaimed *Queen* immediately after Edward's death, and an army raised to maintain her claim. But Mary having, by her perfidious promises to the Suffolkers and others, to make no change relative to religion, deceived the people, raised an army, and, without any bloodshed, made her entrance into London, four weeks after the death of her brother. Bonner, Gardiner, and other Papists were immediately liberated from prison. In council, she solemnly declared, that notwithstanding her fixedness in her own religion, she would compel none to it, but by the preaching of God's word. Next day, by his inveighing at St. Paul's against the late reformation, Dr. Bourne so provoked his audience, that his life was in danger. But Rogers and Bradford, at the hazard of their own, carried him off safe. He and his Popish friends quickly rewarded their kindness with imprisonment and burning.

To prevent like tumults for the future, Mary prohibited all preaching without special licence, declaring that she would not compel her subjects to receive her religion, till further order should be taken for it. Alarmed by this universal prohibition of Protestant preaching, while Papists got licenses, the Suffolkers, depending on their merit in her enthronement, and her solemn promise to them, deputed some to represent their grievances to Mary. She rebuked them as insolent. One of them, having put her in mind of her promise, had for his reward three days on the pillory, and his ears cut off as a defamer,

Bonner of London, Gardiner of Winchester, Tostal of Durham, Heath of Worcester, and Day of Chichester, were restored to their sees. Hooper, who had, with great zeal, supported the rights of Mary against Jean Gray, along with Coverdale, Taylor, and Rogers, were imprisoned for preaching after she had prohibited it. Cranmer, who had saved her life from her father's intended destruction of it, and had contended for her claim to the crown, and Holgate archbishop of York, soon after shared the same fate. The foreign Protestants were commanded to leave the kingdom. Bishops Poynt, Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Bale, Deans Cox, Haddon, Horn, Turner, and Samson, together with Grindal, Jewel, Sandys, Rainolds, Pilkington, Whitehead, Fox, Rough, Knox, and about forty other preachers, and eight hundred principal professors of the Protestant religion, fled into foreign countries. To prevent their escape, the council sent orders to all sea-ports to permit none to leave the kingdom without passports.

On the first of October 1553, Mary was crowned by bishop Gardner, assisted by ten of his diocesan brethren, dressed in their Romish mitres, copes, and crosiers. In a parliament procured to her mind by bribery and every other shameful method, the laws of Edward concerning religion, after a tedious debate of six days, were wholly repealed. Severe punishments were enacted against those that should dare to disturb the restored Popish worship, or break down altars or images. Upon the 3d of November, archbishop Cranmer, Lord Guildford, Jean Gray, and the two sons of Northumberland, were indicted of high treason, in attempting to set up another

for queen. They all confessed the charge ; but Cranmer appealed to his judges with what reluctance he had signed Edward's exclusion of Mary. By means of 150 new presentations to ecclesiastical livings, and other methods, the convocation, of which Bonner was president, was entirely to her majesty's taste.—They all agreed to subscribe the doctrine of transubstantiation, except Philpot, Philips, Haddon, Cheyney, Aylmer, and Young, who disputed against it three days, being answered with little more than threatenings and reproach. Weston the prolocutor told them, that though they had the Scripture on their side, he and his friends had the sword on theirs. Most of the common people were zealous, even to madness, for the restoration of their old idolatry and superstition.

Provoked by Mary's apparent intention to marry Philip, heir to the Spanish crown, Wyatt, a trusty Papist, in 1554, raised an army of four thousand forces against her, and attempted an entrance into London. His army being quickly dispersed, himself was taken and executed. Pretending, that his rebellion was raised by Protestant influence, Lady Jean Gray, and Lord Guildford her husband, were executed. The princess Elizabeth narrowly escaped. Wyatt, to save his own life, once accused her ; but when he saw that he must die, he declared her innocent. Gardiner procured a warrant from some privy counsellors for her execution ; but the lieutenant of the Tower would not make use of it, till he had consulted queen Mary her sister. She disowned it ; but continued her favours to Gardiner.

Having got the nation somewhat settled, Mary appointed her bishops to visit it, and rectify dis-

orders. Her instructions for their procedure were drawn up by Gardiner. After an angry recital of the innovations of Edward, they were charged to execute the laws, which were in force under king Henry VIII. but not to proceed in her majesty's name, nor exact the oath of supremacy, *these encroaching on the Papal authority* ;—to separate clergymen from their wives ;—to re-ordain such as had entered by the Form prescribed under Edward, or supply the defects of their ordination by the unction, priestly vestments, &c ;—to compel all persons to attend the church. The archbishop of York, and bishops of St. David's, Chester, and Bristol, were deprived of their sees, on account of their marriage ; and those of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Hereford, by her majesty's pleasure. Soon after, the sixteen vacant bishoprics were filled up with candidates to her taste. Multitudes of Protestant preachers were turned out for being married, even though they were willing to leave their wives, and for non-appearance,—and without being heard.

Philip's Spanish gold having reconciled almost all the Papists to Mary's marriage with him, she had the more opportunity to persecute the Protestants. As they had complained of their usage in the disputes of the late convocation, the court resolved to mortify them with a repetition of it, at a second dispute, before the university of Oxford. Cranmer, and Ridley, and Latimer, were taken from their prison, to manage it on the Protestant side. In the debate, which turned upon *transubstantiation*, and the *propitiatory sacrifice* of the Mass, they behaved with great modesty and presence of mind ; but their enemies bore them down with continual shouting, noise, and

derision, sometimes four or five of them speaking all at once. After all, they were required to subscribe the articles of debate, as if they had been vanquished. They refused; and, on this account, to their great satisfaction, were declared heretics. The Papists intended to have exposed them in like manner before the university of Cambridge; but the three bishops above mentioned, with seven others, published from their prison, a declaration, That since they had met with so much abuse and misrepresentation at Oxford, they would dispute no more unless in writing, and before her majesty or council, or her parliament. At the same time, they emitted a summary confession of their faith, That the holy Scriptures are the sole supreme judge of all religious debates; that justification is by faith alone through the imputed righteousness of Christ; that holiness of nature is necessary in order to produce good works; that there is no purgatorial state after this life; that baptism and the Lord's supper ought to be administered according to Christ's institution; that the denial of the sacramental cup to the people,—trunsubstantiation, and adoration of the elements, and the sacrifice of the Mass, ought to be condemned; that marriage is lawful to all men. And in the conclusion, they charge the subjects not to rebel against the Queen, but to obey her cheerfully, in all points not forbidden by the law of God.

Gardner's intrigues with Charles the German emperor, had long kept Cardinal Pole from returning to his native country; but his attainder being repealed, he now came home, papally invested with legantine powers; and in his speech to the parliament, Nov. 27, he warmly invited

them and the nation to reconcile themselves with their spiritual father, and return to the catholic church. They readily acquiesced, and had prescribed for their penance their annulment of all laws made against his Holiness' authority since the 20th year of Henry VIII. They received the Pope's pardon of all their sins during that period, on their knees, and then went to the chapel royal in solemn procession, and sung *Te Deum*; and spent the rest of the day in revelling and mirth, because the lost children were now recovered to the Pope. The parliament supplicated his Holiness to confirm some marriages, judicial processes, settlements of lands, and erections of bishoprics, cathedrals, and colleges. The cardinal legate admitted their requests, but denounced the heavy judgment of God against all such as did not restore all the ecclesiastical goods, which they had in their hands. The Pope refused to confirm Pole's restrictions, and published a bull excommunicating all those who did not restore whatever they had pertaining to the church. Terribly afraid of Papal damnation, Mary delivered up all that was in her power. Some of her subjects were not so timorous, but threatened to defend their claims by the edge of their sword. Mary repaired the old monasteries, and erected new ones as fast as she could;—made inquiry who had pillaged them under her father and brother; and commanded Bonner to erase from the public registers whatever had been done against the Pope or monks, as a terrible scandal to the nation. To the great joy of the Popish clergy, the statute of Richard, confirmed by Henry IV. for *burning of heretics*, was restored to its wonted vigour.

It seems Cardinal Pole lost the favour of the Pope, for proposing to bring back the English heretics by instructions and arguments. Gardner, enraged by the re-printing of his book, which inculcated subjection to Henry's ecclesiastical supremacy, and Mary, were furiously bent upon severities, and thought that a few examples would terrify the rest into their will. Hooper, Rogers, Sanders, and Taylor, were burnt in the beginning of February 1554, and eleven more in March and April. Their triumphant courage and constancy confirmed their Protestant brethren, and made some Papists think better of their cause. The English bishops attempted to throw the odium of these executions upon king Philip,—who, to return it on themselves, caused his Spanish confessor preach against such severities. Gardner craftily turned over the management of them upon Bonner, who, brutish as he was, pretended to be sick of them. About this time, the exiles abroad, by a printed paper, called her majesty to remember, that during her brother's reign, no Papists had been put to death, and even Jews were tolerated; and they urged the nobles and commons to intercede with her to forbear shedding the blood of her Protestant subjects, or at least allow them to leave the country. This had no good effect. As if Bonner had been too mild, Philip and Mary, by a letter, quickened him to his pastoral work of extirpating heretics.—Accordingly, in the months of June, July, August, and September, no less than twenty-four were burnt, of whom holy Bradford was one. Not long after, Ridley, Latimer, and Philpot shared the same fate. After being decoyed and terrified into a recantation, Cranmer

publicly professed his repentance of it, and suffered the flames in the most courageous manner, marking his grief for his fall by first burning his unworthy hand, which had signed his recantation. Cardinal Pole, now Archbishop of Canterbury, on account of his mildness, was deprived of his legantine powers. Gardiner had died, miserable in both body and mind; but Bonner continued his murderous fury. The year 1556 exhibited one continual series of cruel persecutions. Numbers were burnt at a time, because they could not believe transubstantiation, and such things as are equally absurd. In imitation of the Spanish Inquisition, Mary erected a court of twenty-one commissioners, most of them clergymen, for the trial of heretics; and prohibited all her subjects to pray for the persecuted Potestants, or to wish that God would bless them. In her reign, according to Warner, two hundred and eighty-four were burnt for religion, of whom four were bishops, and twenty-one inferior clergymen. Fifty-four others were prosecuted for heresy, seven of whom were whipped, and sixteen perished in prison. Lord Burleigh says, that four hundred suffered publicly, besides those that were murdered in prison. The bones of Bucer and Fagius were dugged up, called to give an account of their faith, and not compearing at the bar, were condemned to be burnt for heresy. Peter Martyr's wife having once been a nun, had her bones dug up, and buried in a dunghill.

Meanwhile, the contentions among the reformed added to their misery. While some at the peril of their lives preached to such as would attend them in the night, and one congregation in London had five preachers, of whom Rough the martyr, and Scambler and Bentham, after-

ward Protestant bishops, were a part,—others troubled their fellow prisoners with their disputes. Some of them, being Arian in opinion, were so troublesome in the king's bench, that the Marshal was obliged to shut them up by themselves. Harry, Hart, Trew, and Abingdon, declaimed against all learning and Fathers, and laboured to infect their companions with Pelagian errors. Ridley wrote them a letter, and Bradford another, in order to convince them of their mistakes. Careless had much conference with them for the same end. They even wrote against one another in the prison. I do not find that any of these *Arians* or *free willers*, dared to risk a martyrdom for truth. But the contentions they raised, drew reproach on the Protestant religion, and made the Papists to triumph over it.

Those that fled to foreign parts, were no less plagued with contentions. The Lutheran clergy, except Melancthon and a few others of his mild temper, opposing their having shelter among them, most of them fixed their residence at Embden, Strasburgh, Zurich, Basil, and some other places in Flanders, Switzerland, and Germany, especially at Frankfort on the Mane. There Whittingham, Williams, Sutton, and Wood, with their families and friends, took up their abode in 1554, and were allowed by the magistrates to meet for public worship, in the French church, but at different hours. They and the French exiles agreed to subscribe the Confession of the French Protestants, and to make no quarrel one with another about rites of worship. The English also agreed among themselves to forbear answering aloud after the minister, and to drop the litany and the surplice; and that

after a general confession of sins, they should sing a psalm, and then the minister pray, and preach, and again pray, subjoining the Lord's prayer, sing another psalm, and dismiss the congregation with a solemn blessing. Having agreed to choose a minister and deacon, they invited their scattered brethren to share of their happiness. As the principal preachers and students of divinity had settled at Strasburgh, Zurich, and Basil, for their instruction or employment by printers, the Frankforters begged them to send some of their number to be pastors, and gave them an account of their platform of worship and discipline. The Strasburgh divines demurring on their request, they invited John Knox from Geneva, Haddon from Strasburgh, and Lever from Zurich. The students at Zurich refused to come, unless they would follow the service book prescribed by king Edward. The Frankforters replied, That they were ready to comply with it, as far as the word of God required; but they did not choose to practise indifferent ceremonies in a country where they were disliked; and especially as Edward had altered many things to the better, and intended to have laid aside more of these rites. Soon after, Grindal and Chambers brought a letter from sixteen learned exiles at Strasburgh, insisting for full conformity to the service book, as neglect of it would infer a condemnation of the English martyrs. Knox, Bale, and Fox, now at Frankfort, and fourteen others, replied, That they had omitted as few ceremonies as possible; that the martyrs in England were not dying for the ceremonies, but believed they might be altered to the better; and that the divines of Strasburgh had better not come, than attempt to reduce the

congregation to the use of the service book. The Frankforters having consulted Calvin, he replied, That there were in the English liturgy many tolerable *fooleries*, which godly men ought to reform, as they had opportunity : and that he knew not what they could mean, who were so fond of the dregs of Popery, where they had full liberty to establish whatever was most for edification. They therefore agreed to retain their own order.

About the end of April 1555, Dr. Cox, who had been tutor to king Edward, a man of great pride, and of no small credit with his countrymen, and some of his friends, coming to Frankfort, disturbed the worship of God, by answering aloud after the minister. Next Lord's day, one of them, without the consent of the congregation, mounted the pulpit, and read the liturgy. Knox, in his sermon taxed them with breach of agreement, and affirmed that some things in the service book were superstitious. Cox prevailed with the magistrates to forbid Knox preaching any more in that place. Knox's friends applying to the magistrates, they appointed the congregation to unite with the French church in both discipline and ceremonies, according to their first agreement. Provoked by this, Cox and his friends, in a manner superlatively base, accused Knox of high treason against the emperor, on account of some strong expressions in his *English admonition*, published about four years before. Unwilling to risk the Emperor's resentment, the senate of Frankfort respectfully desired Knox to leave the place. Cox and his party, strengthened by the arrival of other divines, procured the magistrates' permission to use the service book. Knox's friends offered to submit the

dispute to the arbitration of foreign divines : but they refused, and solicited Calvin to countenance their ceremonialism. He absolutely refused, and told them, that he saw no reason for burdening the church with such offensive and hurtful things ; and that their conduct toward Knox was neither brotherly nor pious ;—and besought them to study peace among themselves. This missive having no effect upon these ceremonialists, the old congregation were obliged to yield and leave the place. Some of them went with Fox to Basil, others to Geneva, where they chose Knox to be their pastor, and formed their church after the model of that place.—They published their plan in English, directed to their brethren at home ; and hinted, that finding some rites of the service book apt to do hurt, they had laid them aside, as Hezekiah did the brazen serpent, and the primitive church their love feasts. In a few months after they had forced out their brethren, Horn, pastor of the new Frankforters, fell into a contest with Ashby, one of the principal members. The elders gave judgment against Ashby. He appealed to the people. After the most furious and shameful contention, the magistrates were obliged to interpose, and order them to draw up a more perfect plan of discipline, which might regulate their affairs. The congregation did so, and most of them subscribed it. But Horn, and about twelve others dissented, and appealed to the magistrates.—After patient hearing of both parties, the magistrates decided in favour of the congregation. Upon which Horn and his friends left the place.

In 1558, Mary died, after a short reign, unhappy to herself and her subjects. The capture

of Calais by the French, bloody persecution, contagious distempers, excessive storms and inundations, had rendered most of the nation absolutely miserable. Mary was the object of her husband's contempt. She was grossly ignorant, melancholy, cruel, and revengeful. Her conscience being blindly directed by her confessor, she never but once pardoned a person accused of heresy. Her parliament hated her cruelty, and unwillingly granted her supplies. None but the Popish clergy lamented her death.

CHAPTER VI.

Queen Elizabeth no hearty Protestant—Exiles return home—Protestant religion established—but Edward's liturgy made worse—Pope offers to confirm it—different parties—High Commission court erected—Eleven Articles, and Third Book of Homilies—Tindal's Bible permitted—Corrected by Bishops—Strict party, or Puritans, who disliked the Relics of Popery, persecuted by Queen and Archbishop Parker—miserable state of the English Church—Archbishop Grindal hated, because pious and mild—Whitgift, his successor, furiously persecutes the Puritans, Cartwright, and others—But Papists were tenderly dealt with.

UNDER her sister, Elizabeth had run no small hazard of her life, and had met with no small abuse and hardship in her imprisonment. Gardiner had often moved for her death. King Philip had befriended her, intending, it is like, to make her his Queen, after Mary's death. She had scarcely ascended the throne, when she manifested too much of her father, and that she affected pompous worship, and as much of the Popish religion as could consist with the mainte-

nance of her own legitimacy and supreme headship over the church. She was crowned in the Popish manner, and notified her accession to his Holiness. But he claimed England as a fief of the Romish see, and declared it high presumption in her, a bastard, to think of taking the crown without his consent. This produced her immediate breach with Rome. As some Protestant preachers began to make use of the service book without license, the Papists took the alarm. To prevent disputes, she prohibited all preaching till the Parliament should meet, and allowed the clergy only to read the *gospels* and *epistles* for the day, and the *ten commandments* in English, and to repeat the *Lord's Prayer* and the *Creed*.

The exiles abroad prepared to return home, and reconciliatory letters passed betwixt them. These of Geneva insisted for an entire and mutual burial of all offences; and that their brethren of Basil, Strasburgh, Frankfort, Worms, &c. would unite with them in labouring to obtain a settled form of worship, like to that of the best reformed churches which they had seen. They promised to join in requesting her Majesty that nothing burdensome to tender consciences might be imposed. After such preparation, the exiles returned home, with nothing but their learning and experience. Their friends abroad wrote after them, beseeching them to labour to have their reformation as complete as possible at first, and to lay aside all relics of Popery, otherwise they might afterward find all struggling to remove them to no purpose. Jewel, Cox, Grindal, Pilkington, and others, in their answers, professed their concern to do so; and complain-

ed that the nation were so careless about the purity of worship ; and that Elizabeth retained crucifixes, crosses, lighted consecrated candles, and Popish vestments in her family and chapel, and was bent to have the Scriptures received upon the authority of the church ; but they had not courage to act up to their views, or to stand by one another. Such as supplely complied with her Majesty's will, were promoted to bishoprics, &c. and such as did not, after a temporary permission to preach, were suspended, and reduced to their former depth of poverty.

The ordinary methods of procuring a Parliament to the Sovereign's will being taken, they resumed for the crown all the first fruits and tithes, which Mary had restored to the church. They repealed some of the penal laws. They appointed public worship in a known tongue. They empowered her Majesty to nominate bishops to all the vacant sees ; and restored to her the *supremacy* over the church, which had been claimed by her father and brother ; and required all in public employments, civil or sacred, to swear an oath acknowledging the same. By *this supremacy*, the Sovereigns did not claim a power of preaching or administering sacraments ; but the acts establishing and explaining it, make them judges of what doctrine is to be preached : they, by their delegates in spiritual courts, are supreme judges in points of discipline ; they have power to ratify canons relative to church discipline and government, without consent of either convocation or Parliament ; and to appoint whatever ceremonies they think proper for advancing the glory of God and the edification of his church ; they have the sole power of nominating bishops, who

must be chosen, and no other—and who cannot act but by royal commission. No convocation can meet or act without royal indiction, and appointment of their business. All appeals formerly made to Rome, fall into the King's chancery, to be judged by his delegates. Thus, excepting clerical ministrations, the Kings of England have the same power as the Pope once had.

It was next resolved to establish an uniformity of worship and ceremonies. To prepare the way, Elizabeth appointed nine Popish bishops to dispute, in writing, against as many Protestants, before herself, her council, and houses of Parliament—whether the use of an unknown tongue in the public worship of God be not contrary to Scripture, and the custom of the primitive church? Whether every particular church hath power to alter her own ceremonies, as appears most conducive to the general edification of her members? And, whether the word of God represents the mass as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the quick and the dead? But the Popish doctors gave up the debate on the very first day, pretending, that the catholic cause ought never to be submitted to such a laical arbitration. The Reformers themselves were not of one mind relative to the *ceremonies* and the *service book*. Some were for introducing the form drawn up by the Genevan exiles. Others, among whom Elizabeth was chief, inclined to retain all the ceremonies which could possibly consist with the purity of doctrine, and the independence of the church on the Pope. She even appointed Parker, Grindal, Cox, Pilkington, Whitehead, and some others, to review Edward's second book of common prayer, and to strike out of it all passages that might offend

the Pope or his friends; and to make every body easy with respect to the corporal presence of Christ in his Supper—but to alter nothing in favour of scrupulous Protestants. This book thus purged, or rather made worse, was established by law. In Edward's time, *kneeling* or *standing* at the Lord's Supper were held indifferent, and only the surplice was at last retained. Now *kneeling* was commanded; *cofes* and other Popish vestments, as well as *festivals*, and their *eves*, were re-appointed. In these modes of worship, the Parliament required an exact uniformity; and that whosoever unnecessarily absented from church, should pay a fine of twelve pence for each fault. Nor had Elizabeth been content with all this, unless the Parliament had empowered her to appoint what further ceremonies she found necessary. Upon this rock of uniformity the still remaining corruptions and the almost perpetual divisions and often repeated persecutions of the best in the nation were founded. In the convocation, the Popish doctors made a considerable stand for their religion; and, for disburdening their consciences, presented to the lord privy seal a remonstrance in support of *transubstantiation*, the *propitiatory sacrifice of the mass*, the *Pope's supremacy*, and *clergymen's sole power to judge* of matters of faith or discipline.

No sooner was the Parliament dissolved, in 1559, than all the bishops were required to swear the *oath of supremacy*, acknowledging the Queen *supreme governor of the church in all causes*. Death having of late seasonably cut off many of them, only fifteen remained, all of whom, except Kitchen of Llandaff, obstinately refused to take it, and

were therefore deprived of their sees. Three of them retired to the Continent, and the rest were kindly treated in England. Even Bonner, White, and Watson, whose hands had been most remarkably stained with Protestant blood, though imprisoned, had a sufficient maintenance allowed them by the Queen. Most of the monks returned to secular employments, while the nuns and many others went beyond sea. After the bishoprics had remained vacant about a year, in hopes of the Popish bishops conforming, Whitehead, Gilpin, Coverdale, Knox, and Samson, had offers of them, but they refused to accept, on account of the ceremonies and vestments. Grindal, Parkhurst, Sandys, and some others, accepted them with trembling, in hopes of an after correction of the settlement. As none of the Marian bishops would concur in the consecration of Parker to be Archbishop of Canterbury, it was performed at Lambeth by Barlow, bishop elect of Chichester, and Scorey, elect of Hereford, who officiated in their surplice and chimere; and Coverdale, once Bishop of Exeter, and Hodgkins, suffragan of Bedford, in their long gowns. The ceremony was performed by prayer and laying on of hands, without gloves, sandals, ring, slippers, mitre, pall, or any other of the Aaronical vestments. How Parker, such a zealous stickler for Romish apparel, could be content with such plainness, I know not. As the Papists terribly exclaimed against this ordination, the Parliament, about seven years after, confirmed it.—At first Elizabeth's bishops were poor and somewhat moderate; but, as their wealth increased, so did their pomp, and their lording it over their clerical brethren.

The English Reformation was now fixed; but neither clergy nor people were uniform in their views. The court party believed, that all power of reforming the church was lodged in the Sovereign, who might model the doctrine, worship, and discipline of the church, in every thing not contrary to the express statutes of the realm; that the church of Rome was a true, though much corrupted, spouse of Christ, of which the Pope was the lawful bishop in his own diocese; that Christ had appointed no particular form of government in his church, but had left it to magistrates to model it as best comported with the laws of their state; that the pattern of the first five centuries of the Christian church was a more proper standard of church government than that of the apostles, in whose time she was in a poor and infant condition; and that the religious observation of things indifferent in themselves becomes a divinely commanded duty, when required by magistrates.—The strict party believed it unscriptural and unreasonable to have the religion of a nation subjected to the will of any mere man; that the Pope is Antichrist, the man of sin, and son of perdition; that the church of Rome is not a true church, but an idolatrous synagogue of Satan; that the validity of clerical ordinations cannot safely be suspended on an uninterrupted succession of bishops in the church all along from the apostles; that the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, exclusive of the Apocrypha, are the standard of discipline and government, as well as of doctrine, and that no regard ought to be paid to the primitive church but what corresponds with the Bible; that nothing left indifferent by Christ, ought to be im-

posed in God's worship by human laws; that such rites as have been abused to idolatry, or are calculated to render men superstitious, ought not to be reckoned indifferent, but unlawful in these circumstances. These however took the oath of supremacy, in consequence of her Majesty's explaining it to mean no more than that she was head over all persons in the church, to the exclusion of the Pope and his agents.

By virtue of the act establishing her supremacy, Elizabeth erected a *High Commission* court, and gave them fifty-two articles of injunctions for visiting the churches, much the same as those emitted in the beginning of Edward's reign, which were to be read in every church once every quarter of a year. A rule was added concerning *bidding* of silent prayers in the church, and another for taking away the altars, and placing communion tables in their stead. The observation of these injunctions was required under pain of suspension, deprivation, sequestration, excommunication, &c. The most of the commissioners were laymen; and any two of them were appointed to examine the state of the churches, suspend, or deprive, unworthy clergymen, and put others in their place; to proceed against the obstinate by imprisonment, church censures, and other legal methods; and to rectify all disorders relative to religion and benefices.—As Elizabeth retained in her chapel, her altar, crucifix, and lighted candles by day—the service was sung not only with organs, but with cornets and sackbuts on the solemn festivals, and could not be easily distinguished from that of the Popish cathedrals, the commissioners displeased her by their destroying of images and other relics of Popery,

In their visitation they found, that though scarcely two hundred, or two hundred and forty, of the Popish clery had quitted their livings, their places could not be supplied, many of the reformed exiles scrupling at the terms of uniformity required by the *injunctions*, and Elizabeth choosing rather to damn her subjects through ignorance, than dispense with a relic of Popery.

As her Majesty was not fond of the doctrinal articles of Edward, and it was yet unsafe to permit the convocation to judge of them, *eleven articles* concerning the nature of God; the sufficiency of the Scriptures; the nature of the church; the power of civil magistrates; the power of the Pope; the rectitude of the newly corrected service book; the nullity of the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass; the communion in both bread and wine; the unprofitableness of images, relics, and feigned miracles; the advantages of true holiness, &c.—An assent to this Confession of Faith, full compliance with the service book, and swearing the oath of allegiance, were the terms of ministerial communion. Such was the obstinate bigotry of Elizabeth, Archbishop Parker, and their agents, that rather than admit a learned and godly preacher, that scrupled at a Romish habit or ceremony, they admitted numbers of a naughty practice, and who could scarcely read prayers, or sometimes an homily. A *third book of homilies*, consisting of twenty-one plain discourses concerning the church; peril of idolatry; good works; fasting; gluttony and drunkenness; excess in apparel; prayer; public worship in a known language; reverence of God's word; alms; Christ's birth, passion and resurrection; worthy receiving of the Lord's Supper; gifts of the Holy

Ghost; marriage; repentance; idleness; rebellion, &c. was published for their assistance. Some congregations had not a sermon in seven years, and others scarcely one in twenty. The translation of the Bible by the exiles at Geneva was published with a dedication to Elizabeth; but as in their notes they had allowed of disobeying tyrannical magistrates, and had represented bishops and archbishops as the apocalyptical locusts, so much offence was taken at it, that for fifteen years, it could not be got reprinted. In some following years, about thirty editions of it were dispersed. Tindal's Bible was, for the present, permitted, till the bishops should publish a new translation. The Dutch and German Protestants, under John Lasco, returned to London; but the Queen disallowing their foreign superintendent, they were obliged to choose Grindal, Bishop of London, for their head.

The Popish bishops behaved rudely enough to Elizabeth; but nothing could make her detest their religion. She still loved images and ceremonies in the worship of God, and had prohibited clergymen's marriage, if Cecil, afterward Lord Burleigh, her renowned secretary, had not interposed his nervous solicitations. Pope Pius IV. by his nuncio, offered to confirm the English *liturgy*, allow the people the sacrament in both bread and wine, and annul the decree against her mother's marriage, if she would return to the Romish church; but she could not think of parting with her ecclesiastical supremacy. Ferdinand, the German Emperor, and others, interceded with her to allow the Papists the free exercise of their religion; but she had too much policy to trust them, especially as long as Mary

of Scotland, her rival, and their favourite, lived.

When Archbishop Parker visited his diocese in 1561, he found that most of the beneficed clergy were either ignorant mechanics, or disguised Papists—many churches shut up, and in several counties not a sermon preached, or even a homily read, within twenty miles, for several months. But Parker, who, before his advancement, was humble and modest, now, like his mistress, chose rather to have millions of souls perishing in ignorance, than that a pious and learned scrupler at some relics of Popery required by the act of uniformity, should be allowed to instruct them. Having finished his visitation, Parker fixed the lessons of Scripture for all the holy days in the year, that preachers might no longer have liberty to read what they thought most edifying to their hearers, or to read the oracles of God instead of apocryphal fables.

To confirm the royal supremacy, the Parliament, in 1562, appointed the oath, acknowledging it, to be carefully imposed on all the clergy, judges, and advocates; and that the first refusal of it should render them *outlaws*, the second render them *traitors*. (But Elizabeth and Parker protected most of the Papists from having occasion to refuse it.) They also appointed the Bible and book of common prayer to be translated into the Welsh tongue, and a copy of it provided for every cathedral and parish church in their country. In the convocation many clergymen were so ignorant, that they could not write their own names. They agreed upon and subscribed the *thirty-nine articles*, which were afterward, in part, confirmed by the Parliament 1571. Bishop

Sandys brought in an address to her Majesty, beseeching her to remove out of the service or prayer book, the warrant for private baptism, and for baptism by women—disallow the crossing in baptism; and to appoint commissioners for reforming the ecclesiastical laws. Another paper, subscribed by about thirty-two members, requested, that the whole congregation should sing the Psalms, and organs be laid aside; that none but ministers should baptize, and they be allowed to forbear signing the baptized with the cross; that kneeling at the Lord's Supper be held indifferent; that the use of copes, surplices, and other Popish vestments be removed; that that which relates to the punishment of non-conformists in the articles be mitigated; that all holy days dedicated to the honour of creatures be abrogated, or at least people have liberty to attend their ordinary work immediately after public worship. This not pleasing, another paper was presented, requesting, that all holy days except Sabbath days and festivals relating to Christ, be abolished; that, in reading the prayers, ministers turn their face to the people, that they may hear and be edified; that the cross in baptism be omitted, as tending to superstition; that many being unable to kneel at the sacrament, and others kneel and knock superstitiously, the order of kneeling may be left to the discretion of every ordinary; that no more but the surplice be imposed in the apparel of ministers in executing their office; that the use of organs be omitted. After much warm disputation, this paper was approved by forty-three of the most learned, against thirty-five of present members; but twenty-four absents by proxy voted against it, and only

fifteen for it, it was lost by one vote of an absent, who had heard nothing of the debate.

Almost all the noted English divines had testified their dislike of the Popish vestments imposed on the clergy. Sundry foreigners, and particularly the Genevans, had declared against them, and advised to a more perfect reformation. But so zealous were Elizabeth, Parker, and their agents, that the great martyrologist, Fox, and Coverdale, could have no preferment, and scarcely liberty to preach, on account of their scrupling at such relics of superstition or idolatry. Parker, who directed his clergy not to tender the oath of supremacy to Papists, except in cases of necessity, for fear of distressing them—by Elizabeth's order, drew up some advertisements, which obliged every preacher to take out a new licence, which could not be had, without declaring their full consent to the habits and ceremonies. Many of the best still scrupling, he cited them to his court at Lambeth, admonished some, and threatened others. Samson and Humphreys, remarkable for piety and learning, offered to subscribe with some limitations; but could obtain none. After their imprisonment, Samson was deprived of all clerical office, and Humphreys durst not return to Oxford. Elizabeth craftily refused to annex her royal confirmation to Parker and his brethren's advertisements concerning *habits*; but ordered that all refusers of them should be punished with suspension and deprivation from their office. To prepare the way for reducing the puritan clergy about London, John Fox was prosecuted; but, it seems, they were ashamed to deprive him. Parker begged Cecil and some other noblemen to attend him in his

dealing with the London nonconformists: but they refused, being ashamed of such work. Of an hundred clergymen, sixty-one were, by threatenings and otherwise, made to subscribe the terms of conformity. Thirty-seven, among whom Parker acknowledged were some of the best preachers, absolutely refused, and gave in their reasons; but were immediately suspended, and threatened with deprivation, if they did not conform in three months.

The commissioners for visitation of the churches cruelly obliged every clergyman, having charge of souls, to swear obedience to all royal injunctions, letters of the lords of privy council, articles and injunctions of their metropolitans, and mandates of their bishops and other superiors. To gird these injunctions fast upon the puritans, spies were appointed in every parish to watch their conduct—that rendered it impossible for them to escape the High Commission. By such means, even London was rendered most miserable for want of preachers. Bishop Grindal indeed prosecuted the puritans or scruplers with the utmost reluctance, and wished to indulge them; but could not, for Elizabeth, and especially for Parker. Several heads and others of the university of Cambridge once and again besought Cecil, their chancellor, that they might be dispensed with as to the habits; which gave great offence at court. Nevertheless, that university was long a nest and refuge of puritans. They retained the right of sending forth twelve preachers yearly, who might preach for life, without any licence from the bishop; which contributed to the edification of many thousand souls. Meanwhile, the other puritan preachers partly fled in-

to foreign countries, partly betook themselves to secular employments, or to be chaplains to persons of rank ; and many, who had large families, were reduced to beggary.

When the refusers of the habits and ceremonies found themselves extremely traduced by their enemies, they began to publish tracts for their own vindication. The High Commissioners procured a deed of the privy council prohibiting the printing or vending of them. Provoked with this restraint, and with the silencing, sequestration, and imprisonment of so many of their faithful pastors and preachers, for mere scruples at the robes and ceremonies of Antichrist, many of the people began to separate from the conforming clergy, and meet for worship by themselves; in doing which, they laid aside the liturgy, and followed the plan of Geneva. It ought to be remembered, that though the robes were most readily spoken of amidst these contentions, yet the puritans complained of many things beside.— They did not allow of the office of bishops to be superior to that of presbyters ; or of bishops' temporal dignities and secular trusts ; they disliked the titles and offices of *archdeacons*, *deans*, *chapters*, and other officials in cathedral churches ; they condemned the exorbitant power and oppressive conduct of the bishops and their chancellors, and their spiritual courts ; the putting of excommunication and absolution into the hands of laymen ; promiscuous admission of people to the Lord's Table, however ignorant or licentious ; they lamented the total want of Christian discipline ; they disliked restriction of ministers to *set forms* of prayer and the vain repetitions prescribed in the *common prayers* ; they disliked

several expressions in the office of marriage, burial, &c. and the reading of so much of the Apocrypha, to the exclusion of a large part of the word of God; they complained, that there were so many unpreaching pastors, so many pluralities and non-residents; and that ministers were intruded by patronage, without regard to the choice of the people: they detested the observation of so many holy days of human appointment, while buying and selling on the Lord's day were permitted: they disapproved instrumental music, singing of prayers, and other relics of Papal forms in cathedral churches; they scrupled the use of the cross in baptism, and the officiating of godfathers and godmothers in place of the true parents; they disliked the manner of confirmation upon so easy terms, as well as the pretence, that imposition of the bishop's hands certified persons of their real saintship: they disliked the obliging of communicants to kneel at the Lord's Supper—or to bow at the pronunciation of the name of JESUS; they disliked the use of the ring in marriage as a sacramental symbol; nor could they believe that the use of Popish robes or ceremonies in divine service promoted the edification of men's souls.

Coverdale, Samson, Fox, Humphreys, and others of the puritan clergy, continued in the church, and became itinerant preachers, lecturers, or chaplains, as they had opportunity. But Coleman, Button, Halingham, Benson, White, Rowland, and Hawkins, ministers of London, looking upon the established church as obstinate in her adherence to many dregs of Popery, and in persecuting the faithful followers of Christ, separated from her, and privately preached in

houses and woods. Informed of this, Elizabeth published a proclamation, that whoever did not attend their own churches, but attended conventicles, should for the first offence be deprived of the freedom of London, and afterward abide the punishment directed by law. One of these private meetings being detected, many were apprehended, who, before Bishop Grindal and other judges, behaved in a most bold and Christian manner. After lying a year in prison, twenty-four men and seven women were set free. Neither the remarkable piety, nor the nervous arguments, nor the sufferings of these puritans could move the High Commissioners. They had their spies in all suspected places, to prevent their assembling for worship, and prohibited all preaching in London, without special licence from the bishop or archbishop.

In 1568, the bishops published their Bible, which was merely that of Tindal somewhat corrected, and with some maps, cuts, and notes: but they little regarded it in dealing with their scrupulous brethren. Protestants being terribly prosecuted in France and the Netherlands, many of them fled into England, and settled in London and other trading places.—Regard to the erection of manufactures, and care to weaken her neighbouring Princes, moved Elizabeth to permit them their own modes of worship. She and Parker had been extremely kind to her Popish subjects, and had issued directions to prevent bringing them under hardships by the imposition of the oath of supremacy. To reward her kindness, they now raised two rebellions against her; and the Pope delivered her and all her adherents to the devil and his angels, and dis-

solved all oaths of allegiance to her or contracts with her. These things occasioned a penal statute against Papists, and requiring them solemnly to protest their innocence to her. But to keep them in countenance, and render the puritans equally odious, the same protestation of allegiance was, without the smallest shadow of reason, required of them, and the prosecutions chiefly carried on against them, which Popish priests, by counterfeiting them, sometimes promoted. By oaths and interrogations, they made them their own accusers. And such was their candour, that they made it a point to deny nothing of the truth, and to declare their principles before their judges. If nothing could be found chargeable upon them, they were ruined by the charges of a dilatory procedure, and then dismissed under obligations to appear whenever their judges should call them.

In 1570, Cartwright, a most learned professor of divinity at Cambridge, extended the field of disputation between the Puritans and their persecuting brethren. In his theological lectures, he, with great modesty and caution, insinuated, that the names and functions of *archbishops* and *archdeacons* ought to be abolished, as not warranted in Scripture; that the Scripture only warrants preaching bishops and deacons, who take care of the poor; that every church ought to be governed by its own minister and elders, not by chancellors and officials; that every minister ought to have the charge of some flock; that none should solicit admission to the ministry; that bishops ought not to be created by the civil magistrate, but chosen by the church; that in reforming churches all things ought to be redu-

ced to the apostolic pattern; that none incapable of preaching ought to be admitted to the ministry; that none but ministers can lawfully administer the sacraments; that Popish ordination is not valid; that only canonical Scripture ought to be read in the public worship of God; that in public prayer all the people ought to join with the words of the minister, and not pray or read each by himself; that the care of interring the dead pertains not to the ministerial office; that all the words and names of God being equally divine, there is no reason for *standing* at the reading of the gospels, or *bowing* at the mention of the name JESUS; that *sitting* at the Lord's Table is as lawful as kneeling or standing; that baptism by women or laymen is unlawful; that parents ought to present their own children in baptism, and not be obliged to answer in name of the child; that women and persons under age ought not to be allowed to stand sponsors for children; that the sign of the cross in baptism is superstitious; that the Lord's Supper ought not to be administered in private; that the prohibition of marriage at certain seasons of the year is Popish, and then to give licenses to it for money is intolerable; that clandestine marriages are inconvenient; that the observation of *Lent* and other *holy days*, of human appointment, is superstitious and unlawful; that markets and merchandize on the Lord's day are unlawful; that in ordination, it is sinful and ridiculous for the bishop to say, *receive thou the Holy Ghost*, as if he could confer him; and that Kings and bishops ought not to be anointed to their office. For occasional hints of this nature, notwithstanding much intercession in his favour, he was deprived

of his office, expelled the university; and for two years retired to the Netherlands.

Grindal being translated to the archbishopric of York, Sandys was made bishop of London.—Perhaps contrary to his convictions, he deprived his old fellow Puritans of the poor remains of indulgence which Grindal had left them, and insisted for the most rigid uniformity. When the Parliament met in 1571, in which Strickland and Wentworth were principal speakers, some relief was intended for the Puritans. Having had the *Thirty-nine Articles* presented to them, in order to their legal establishment, they waved the three articles which related to ceremonies and government, and ratified such only as belonged to doctrinal points, requiring all that possessed ecclesiastical livings to declare their consent to these; and such as should teach any thing contrary to them, to be deprived. It is probable, that the clause of twentieth Article, bearing, that *the church hath power to decree concerning rites and ceremonies of worship, and hath authority in controversies of faith*, was not in the copy which they approved; and it is certain, their act admitted ordination by presbyters to be valid.

Though it be notoriously certain, that but a small part of the episcopalian clergy did, or do, subscribe these Articles with honesty and candour, yet, to distress the Puritans, the convocation, which sat during this Parliament, requested the bishops to recal all former licenses to preach, and to require not only a subscription of the Articles, but of the *Book of Common Prayer*, and of the *ordinal* for consecration of bishops,

priests, and deacons, as containing nothing contrary to the word of God—as the condition of every new license. Contrary to law, this act, though never confirmed by the Queen, was violently executed by most of the bishops. Meanwhile, contrary to Elizabeth's inclination, the Commons presented a petition for supplying a multitude of parishes destitute of preaching, and for checking abounding profaneness and atheism. The Elector Palatine appointed Zanchy to write to her in behalf of the Puritans. But it seems Archbishop Grindal durst not deliver his letter. It is certain that uniformity was more and more urged. Scambler, and some other bishops, notwithstanding their consciences were much at her Majesty's will, being sensible of the bad consequences of the great want of preaching, and total want of church discipline, permitted their clergy to enter into associations or presbyteries, for promoting of both. At Northampton the clergy, the mayor, and the justices of peace, agreed upon several *rules* for promoting Christian knowledge, regulating divine services, and sanctifying the Sabbath. The clergy agreed upon private exercises of preaching at their meetings, in order to their mutual improvement in gifts and grace.

Parker still laboured at his persecuting work. He sent for the principal men of the suspected clergy, and told them, that they must take out new licenses, in which they must subscribe to all the articles imposed by the late convocation. The Bishops of Ely and Winchester assisted him. But Grindal refused, alleging, that it might bring them under a *premunire*. Goodman, Lever, Samson, Walker, Brown, Field, Johnson,

and others, were called to the episcopal bar, and told that they must either come up to the Queen's Injunctions, or be deprived. Beza of Geneva, by letters, besought the bishops to abate their rigour, and besought the lord treasurer to endeavour procuring some further reformation in the church discipline. The Parliament having met, began to form a bill for regulating the procedure of the rigid bishops, and for granting some relief to the distressed Puritans. Elizabeth and her bishops prevented them, and Wentworth, the principal advocate for religion and liberty, was thrown into prison for his parliamentary freedom. And, in 1572, Deering, Brown, Brownrig, Millain, Clark, and about ninety-five other Puritan ministers, were deprived, for scrupling the episcopal impositions.

Meanwhile, Field, Wilcox, and others, drew up an *Admonition* to the Parliament, consisting of twenty-three chapters relative to the superiority of bishops over presbyters; the authority of the church in things indifferent; the election, ordination, residence, preaching, ability, and apparel of clergymen; the Book of Common Prayer and subscription of it; holy days of human appointment; right preaching; reading of the Scriptures; deans preaching and ministering the sacraments; the pertinents of baptism and the Lord's Supper; ruling elders and church discipline; deacons and widows; magistracy; cathedral churches; civil offices of clergymen.—For presenting this book to the Parliament, the authors of it were imprisoned more than a year. They published a confession of their faith, to refute the calumnies of Whitgift.

About the same time, Cartwright published a *Second Admonition*, supplicating redress of the Puritans' grievances, and representing the injustice of punishing men for warning the Parliament, without dropping one treasonable hint. Several pamphlets being published in defence of the *Admonition*, the bishops were obliged to answer it. Whitgift, chancellor of the university of Oxford, was chosen for that purpose, and was answered once and again by Cartwright. Whitgift scarcely pretended to argue from Scripture, but from the dictates of fathers in the first five centuries of the Christian Church; while Cartwright insisted to have all things in religion regulated by Scripture. Having the court and bishops on his side, Whitgift hunted down his antagonist with force and calumny, and obliged him to conceal himself, flee his country, and live in distress and poverty. Even when he was rewarded with his bishopric, he could not forbear persecuting him: a shrewd evidence that his evil conscience knew that he had not rational or scriptural arguments to support his cause.

While France was soaked with the blood of massacred Protestants, the state of the Protestant religion in England was most wretched. Pleasing Parker in their ready compliance with surplices, copes, square caps, &c. the Papists had easy access to ecclesiastical functions. The clergy busied themselves in adding to the number of their livings; but almost utterly neglected their duty, and alienated the church property for their own private gain. The court was an harbour of atheism, profaneness, and every kind of licentiousness. Many of the subjects were absolute atheists or heathens in their practice. The Lord's day

was generally little regarded, and some lived without any appearance of worship at all on it. But it was not against these heaven-daring crimes, but against Puritans' disconformity to things which themselves allowed to be intrinsically indifferent, that Elizabeth and her darling bishops burned with zeal. One Burchet, a madman, who was but called a Puritan, having struck one, and killed another, whom his delirious brain fancied to be Hatton, a Papist, the odium of the deed was charged on the whole body of Puritans. Provoked with their application to Parliament for redress of their terrible oppression, and with their holding of secret presbyteries among themselves, she commanded to prosecute them with unrelenting rigour. Field, Wilcox, and five others, were deprived for scrupling to subscribe promises of conformity drawn by the commissioners. Outlandish men, who could scarce read the English tongue, were placed in their stead, and their poor people, who had enjoyed two sermons every Sabbath, had scarcely one in a quarter of a year. Johnson was thrown into prison, where he died amidst poverty and hunger. Notwithstanding the reluctance of Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, Parker's commissioners deprived about three hundred Puritan pastors in his diocese alone.

Nor were the clergy alone plagued with subscriptions. One was devised for such as deserted their churches, in which they engaged to full conformity. Spies were placed in every suspected parish, to inform against such as did not punctually attend their churches, in order to have them punished. Nay, spies were placed upon the Puritan prisoners, in order to bring them into

more trouble. When the Puritans appeared before the high Commissioners, they were abused as if they had been dogs or devils, which, no doubt, sometimes provoked them to some unadvised words. The candid *Warner* justly observes, That the cruelties exercised by the court bishops against their worthy brethren of the same faith, fell little short of these exercised by bloody Bonner against the Protestants. Some of the persecuted offered to dispute the points which they held; and, for that crime, were the more readily deposed and imprisoned. As the presbyteries, prophesyings, or meetings of clergymen to exercise their preaching talents for mutual improvement, were thought to have a puritanical appearance, Elizabeth and Parker, contrary to the will of the privy council, resolved to stop them. To the great grief of the pious Parkhurst, they were first suppressed in his diocese. Some of the puritans reckoning it better to meet together on holy days and other occasions for joint prayer and reading of the scripture, than to spend the time idly, or in drinking and playing at cards,—Parker being informed of it, applied himself to suppress that super-criminal conduct. As he readily believed every reproach he could hear of the Puritans, his steward, and one Undertree, forged letters in name of Benham, Stonden, and others, importing a plot against Lord Burleigh the treasurer; and that the Earls of Bedford, Leicester, and other noblemen were in it. Parker began to prosecute the Puritans with great fury. But, upon examination, Undertree confessed, that the whole was a sham, intended to disgrace the puritans. This not a little sullied the honour of Parker: but his impu-

dence preserved him from blushing; and neither of the villains, who had been guilty of such enormous forgery, were punished. To the great hurt of the Isle of Wight, and hindering of foreign Protestants to dwell, or trade in it, Parker visited it, turned out the non-conformists, and shut up their churches. Jersey and Guernsey, lying out of his reach, and having no fixed form of church government, the people caused Cartwright and Snape to draw up a plan, which they observed, till James I. obliged them to receive the episcopal yoke, and the ceremonies attending it. It appears to have been much like to that of the Westminster Assembly.

While Elizabeth and her favourites carried on their persecution of the pious and peaceable puritans, she marked an astonishing kindness to Papists, who sought the ruin of herself and her kingdom. They were frequently released from prison. About five hundred of their meetings for idolatrous worship were connived at.—Nine foreign colleges being erected for the Popish education of English youth, one at Rome, and eight in the Spanish dominions, swarms of Romish missionaries poured themselves into England. In a few years, that of Rome and of Douay in Flanders furnished three hundred, all of them deep sworn, to labour to their uttermost in reducing their heretical countrymen to the religion of their ancestors. About this time, Henry Nicolas founded his *family of love*, whose enthusiasm rendered them almost delirious. Their opinions were somewhat like to these of the Popish Quietists, or the Quakers. They had their private meetings for worship, on account of which they sometimes tasted of Elizabeth and Parker's whole-

some severities. Some German Anabaptists having fled into England, twenty-seven of them were apprehended, nine banished, and two burnt, about the time that Parker himself was dragged by death before the tribunal of God.

In the beginning of A. D. 1576, pious Grindal was translated to Canterbury, Sandys to York, and Aylmer, once an half puritan, but now a cruel persecutor, to London. In parliament, an unsuccessful attempt to lay a tax on such as did not attend the churches and receive the sacraments, was made.—The convocation framed articles of admission to the ministry, thirteen of which were published with Elizabeth's leave, though they had not her seal; one of them declaring, That all licenses to preach, dated previous to Feb. 8, 1575, had become void, but might be renewed without any expence. Thus, for the third or fourth time, Elizabeth had disqualified all the preachers of her kingdom, chiefly in order to purge out Protestant scruplers at Popish vestments and ceremonies. Had all the bishops been equally strict in the renovation of licenses, the church had scarce any preaching that deserved the name,—many of those who had the charge of souls being incapable even to read an homily aright; and they were only obliged to read the service, and administer the sacraments in person once in the half year, under the penalty of £5 to the poor. But it was a mercy, that many of them employed puritans as their curates and lecturers, who, with great earnestness, laboured in the work of the Lord. Notwithstanding all attempts to root them out, the puritans still continued, if not increased, under their hardships. Many of them held secret

meetings for discipline. Informed hereof, Elizabeth commanded Archbishop Grindal to hunt them out. Some of their chiefs were apprehended. Others, chiefly in the diocese of Norwich, of which Freke was now Bishop, were suspended. Nor could the distinguished piety and peacefulness of Greenham, prevent his going with the rest.

In order to preserve the useful meetings for mutual improvement among his established clergy, Grindal drew up for them the following regulations:—That they should only be held in churches appointed by the Bishop of the diocese; that the Archdeacon, or some other appointed by the Bishop, should moderate in them; that the Bishop should have a list of all clergymen fit for attending them, and should appoint the passages of scripture to be handled in them; that the moderators should appoint such clergymen as could not yet preach, some other useful task; that if any in his discourse touched the affairs of state, the moderator should immediately stop him, and delate him to his Bishop; that if any inveigh against the ceremonies, he shall be suspended from preaching, till his Bishop give him a new admission; that no minister, once suspended or deprived, be suffered to speak in these meetings, till by subscription and daily practice for a time, he conform to the order of the church; and that no laymen should be permitted to speak in public. By these regulations, he thought they would be innocent enough. But Elizabeth sending for him, exclaimed against all such meetings as *illegal* in themselves, and *infinitely dangerous* to both church and state; for the advantage of both which, she said, it would be, to have but three

or four preachers in a whole county ; and she peremptorily commanded him to suppress them wholly. As, with the most evident marks of high displeasure, she refused to hear his reply, Grindal wrote her a most sensible letter, representing the usefulness of these meetings, on account of which he had not freedom to suppress them ; and begging, that her majesty would not interpose her prerogative in ecclesiastical affairs without the advice of her Bishops, or pronounce so peremptorily in religious as in secular matters. Quite infuriated by this meek remonstrance, she, by a deed of her Star-chamber, confined him to his house, sequestrated him from his jurisdiction for half a year. Before this elapsed, Grindal made a kind of submission ; but as he could not retract his opinion, nor profess his sorrow for the advice which he had given her majesty, she continued his sequestration ; and so the exercises for prophesying went down,—Elizabeth being terrified, lest knowledge should make her clergy less disposed to an absolute submission to her arbitrary will.

Cartwright being preacher to the English factory at Antwerp, got Fenner, Travers, Ashton, and others ordained to the ministry, who could not obtain it at home, where in 1578, Whitingham and Laurence were deprived for their want of Episcopal ordination. The woeful condition of England was almost inexpressible. In Cornwall, there were one hundred and forty incumbents, not one of whom could preach a sermon, and most of them pluralists, non-residents, fornicators, adulterers, drunkards, gamesters on the Lord's day ; and yet people were prosecuted, if they attended a puritan sermon.

When the parliament met in 1580, the Commons agreed to observe a *fast* by themselves on a Lord's day, to supplicate his direction in their work, and the preservation of her majesty and the realm, now when the Popish powers were forming leagues for the utter destruction of Protestants ; but they referred the nomination of the preachers to the privy council. Elizabeth was terribly offended, that they had dared to do this, without her consent asked and obtained. The Commons submitted themselves, and begged her pardon. The parliament enacted, That all Romish priests who attempted to seduce Protestants, and these seduced by them into a change of their religion, should be liable to the pains of high treason,—and the saying of mass be punishable with a year's imprisonment, and a fine of 200 marks Sterling, and the hearing of it with a year's imprisonment, and a forfeiture of 100 marks : And that every person who did not attend churches in which the Common Prayer is regularly used, shall forfeit to her majesty £20 a month, and lie in prison till it should be paid ; and schoolmasters forfeit £10, and be imprisoned for a year, and be perpetually incapable of teaching a school : And as some Puritans, provoked with their terrible oppression, had published some satirical pamphlets against unpreaching clergymen, &c. they enacted, That all such as wrote or published any ballad or letter, containing any thing scandalous against the Queen, should suffer death without benefit of clergy.

By his questions and demands of subscription, Aylmer made terrible havoc among the clergy about London. Such as did not answer to his satisfaction, were immediately suspended and si-

lenced. While the bishops drove the Puritans from their pulpits, many of the nobility and gentry took them into their families to teach their children, which, by the blessing of God, prepared them to make such a stand for religion and liberty about the middle of the next century. Violent methods but drove the dissenters further from the establishment. Robert Brown, a school-master, having published a tract intituled, *The life and manners of true Christians*, was prosecuted on account of it. After a little rest, he and Harrison travelled through the country, preaching against bishops and ceremonies, for which he was imprisoned above thirty times. He and his followers formed themselves into a particular sect; but they were quickly obliged to retire to Holland. After officiating for some years as their pastor, Brown himself returned to England, and became an idle dissolute conforming rector at Northampton. His apostacy dissolved his congregation at Middleburg: but the friends of his scheme gradually multiplied. They held much the same doctrine as the church of England; but they denied her to be a true church, on account of her many corruptions, and renounced all communion with her, and every other church, not of their own model; they placed the whole power of church government equally in all the brotherhood. They chose and ordained their own officers, and deprived them of their office at pleasure. Their particular congregations lived as sister churches; but none had any jurisdiction over another; nor had their church officers any power of office without the bounds of the congregation in which they were last chosen and ordained. They hated all prescribed forms of prayer. Every

brother had liberty of prophesying or exhorting in their religious assemblies. After a sermon, the brethren ordinarily conferred upon the subject of it.—Tyler, Coppington and Hacket, leading Brownists in England, were imprisoned several years, and the two last hanged.

About 1582, multitudes of Jesuits pouring into England, preached openly against Elizabeth's title and authority, and dispersed their books. Campian, and two others, were apprehended and hanged; but the zeal of the courtiers ran out chiefly against the puritans. The remarkably pious Wright was deprived and imprisoned, because he had received presbyterial ordination at Antwerp. To extend their oppression, Elizabeth employed some hungry courtiers to examine the claims of lands and livings belonging to the church, and granted every thing, for which church-men could not produce legal titles, to them. By examination of parsons, wardens, and others, they bade fair to find means to sequester most of the church lands for her majesty's use. The Bishops were therefore obliged to beg her superseding of their commission. The Suffolk justices of peace ventured again to supplicate her indulgence toward the puritans, and complained, That they were reckoned with the vilest malefactors. Some conform clergy also wrote in their favour. But Elizabeth, Aylmer, and other court Bishops, who connived at, or encouraged profane swearing, and the most open drunkenness, revelling, and gaming on the Lord's day, panted for their ruin.

Notwithstanding his further submission and removal of his sequestration, Grindal continued the object of Elizabeth's dislike; and hence lived

in a dejected manner till he died in 1585. Whitgift of Worcester, who had distinguished himself by his hatred of the puritans, was placed in his stead. He had scarcely received his archbishopric, when Elizabeth solemnly charged him to restore the discipline of the church, and the established uniformity, which had lost its credit under his predecessor. Prepared for obedience, he, the very first week, dispatched his mandates to all the Bishops of his province, That no preaching, catechising, or prayer be allowed in families, in which more than the members are present; that none preach and catechize, unless he read the whole service, and administer the sacrament four times a year; that all preachers and others in ecclesiastical orders wear the prescribed habits at all times; that none be allowed to preach but such as have been regularly ordained; that none preach unless he have taken the oath of supremacy, subscribed the *Books of Common Prayer*, and of *Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*, and all the *Thirty-nine Articles*, and use said books in all their ministrations. Several lawyers thought that he exceeded his legal powers, and might have been brought into a *premunire*, for tendering articles, and requiring subscriptions not warranted by parliament. But having her majesty on his side, he insisted on them at pleasure; and for refusing of them, two hundred and thirty-three preachers were suspended in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Sussex, Essex, Kent, and Lincolnshire, besides great numbers in London. the diocese of Peterborough, and other counties, —some of whom were dignitaries in the church, and most of them graduates in the university. Forty-nine of them were immediately deposed from their office. No doubt, multitudes twisted

their conscience to make it submit, rather than render them and their families outwardly miserable. The bulk of the inferior clergy, who had any sense, wished for amendments in the *service book*, that the many valuable men thereby disqualified, might be of use in the church. But Whitgift was deaf to all they could say, being terrified lest amendments might make people think the church had once been in a mistake.

The ejected clergymen, and others that pitied them, presented a supplication to the privy council for some relief in the affair of subscription. But Whitgift, who, by turning Papist under Queen Mary, had retained his place, was firmly resolved to display his power and execute his fury against all such as had not consciences as flexible as his own. Not content with archiepiscopal jurisdiction, he besought her Majesty, for the sixth time, to erect an *High Commission*, whose power might extend to the whole kingdom, and might apply wholesome severities, not becoming bishops as such, she readily granted his request.—This court consisted of forty-four members, twelve of which were bishops, and three a quorum. They had power to call before them all ecclesiastical causes; to examine persons upon oath concerning their own conduct; and to suspend, deprive, imprison, or excommunicate them as they found cause; and to amend the statutes of colleges, cathedrals, grammar schools, and other public foundations. They borrowed the examination of men upon oath touching their own principles or conduct, from the Spanish Inquisition, and their powers were manifestly inconsistent with the laws of the land. But who durst contradict her Majesty, and the archbishop? who composed twenty-four

articles directing this court how to examine the Puritans upon oath. Shocked with a sight of them, Lord Burleigh wrote to the archbishop, that they savoured strong of the Romish inquisition, if they were not more ensnaring. Whitgift returned him some pitiful pretences, in support of his oath *ex officio*. The privy council represented to him and Aylmer, and by naming the persons, that they connived at pluralists, non-residents, and multitudes of ignorant and scandalous clergymen, drunkards, whoremongers, gamesters at cards, and the like, and only exercised their inquisitorial diligence against such as were laborious and diligent preachers. Whitgift attempted to vindicate his conformists, while he carried on his furious career against such as had scrupulous consciences. Beale, the clerk of the privy council, had his own share of harassment for exposing the illegality and injustice of his inquisitorial procedure.

With no small difficulty, the Puritans obtained a kind of conference on the disputed points between the archbishop and his brother of Winchester on the one side, and Messrs. Sparke and Travers on the other, before the Earl of Leicester, and Lords Grey and Walsingham. They conferred concerning the reading of the *Apocrypha* instead of the word of God and as equivalent to it; the administration of baptism in private and by women; the usefulness of Popish vestments; the allowance of insufficient clergymen, non-residence, and pluralities. Neither party were satisfied: but the noblemen were so far convinced, that they solicited favour for the non-conformist ministers. Meanwhile Aylmer prosecuted them with unrelenting fury. Without the small-

est shadow of crime, and after abusing them at his bar with the vilest reproaches, he suspended thirty-eight of them in summer 1584, and afterwards prosecuted others. Being turned out of their livings and hindered to keep schools, some of them were reduced to beggary. While Cartwright was correcting a plan of regular discipline among themselves, which Travers had drawn up about eight years before—they applied to the Parliament—to the convocation—to Whitgift—and again to the Parliament for redress of their grievances. In their last supplication they shew that the ten thousand parishes in England had no more than about two thousand preachers to supply them. On both occasions, the Parliament shewed willingness to relieve them. But Elizabeth and Whitgift carried all before them; and Wentworth and others, who boldly inveighed against the bishops' arbitrary procedure, were sent prisoners to the Tower.

In 1584 the Parliament appeared exceedingly desirous to grant them liberty; to restrain the High Commission; to prohibit pluralities and non-residence of clergymen; and some bills were presented for limiting the power of bishops; allowing of persons to marry at any time of the year; and for the better observation of the Lord's day, which was now terribly profaned. But the zeal of Elizabeth and her bishops, and Whitgift's fears, that alterations would make people think the church had been in an error, prevented all such endeavours from having any effect. An act was made against Jesuits and trafficking priests, and such as supported or concealed them. —In 1586, the Parliament appeared still more zealous to relieve the supplicating Puritans; and

some members proposed a farther reformation of the church. Not only did Elizabeth commit the warmest speakers to the Tower, but, in her plan of general pardon, she excepted all such as offended against the act of uniformity, or published seditious libels, *i. e.* tracts, which represented the arbitrary proceedings of the bishops. About this time, the third part of the preachers in England were suspended or deprived; about five hundred of whom agreed to observe the plan of government and discipline, which Cartwright had corrected, which is pretty similar to that agreed upon by the Assembly of Westminster; and they agreed to meet in classical presbyteries, once in six weeks; in synods once every half year; and in a general synod or assembly once every year.—After Sandys, Archbishop of York, had, for several years, cruelly persecuted the scruplers, he died, A. D. 1588, declaring, in his latter will, that he was, and had always been persuaded, that the ceremonies were not expedient for the church, but ought to be disused by little and little. Much about the same time, died Fox, Samson, and Humphreys, noted Puritans.

While the Spaniards were preparing to invade and conquer the kingdom, the Puritans, who had alway distinguished themselves for the Protestant and national interests, again supplicated the Parliament for relief. But Elizabeth, who was flattered as a *goddess*, by the convocation, reprimanded the Commons for considering whether they should grant it; and how they might correct the fearful profanation of the Sabbath. When the fears of the Spanish invasion were over by means of a storm and sea fight, some less serious Puritans published some scurrilous tracts

against the bishops, and their procedure and ceremonies, under the titles of *Martin Mar Pre-late*, &c. which were answered by churchmen in an equally ludicrous and abusive manner. At last the nonconformists' press was discovered, and Sir Richard Knightly and Sir ——— Wigston, who had entertained it, and the printer, and Newman, the disperser, were deeply fined in the Star-chamber. Others were put to death, of whom Udal, a pious and learned minister, was one, who had no hand in the scurrilous pamphlets, but in a *demonstration of the discipline of the Christian church*, in which the character of the bishops was thought to be touched; at least he acknowledged a great part of that book to be true. Notwithstanding much intercession in his behalf, he was terribly persecuted, and condemned as a traitor, without either shadow or proof of his disloyalty, and died in prison. Meanwhile Whitgift commenced a new visitation, and framed twenty-two *Articles*, on which the wardens of every parish were to be examined upon oath, and which were remarkably calculated to distress the Puritans, and set every one at odds with his neighbour. In his letter to Burleigh, Sir Francis Knolles calls them *Articles of Inquisition*, highly prejudicial to the royal prerogative.

The puritans' associations for government and discipline among themselves exposed them to further persecution. Cartwright and fifteen others were apprehended and imprisoned in the Fleet jail.—Their first answer not being to the taste of the managers, they had thirty-one articles exhibited against them; and were required, upon oath, to declare how far they were chargeable or not. For having enough of common sense to

refuse being self accusers, they were punished with several years imprisonment.—James, King of Scotland, interceded with Elizabeth, Dr. Goad and Whitaker, noted clergymen, with Lord Burleigh, and nine of the imprisoned ministers with Whitgift, for relief. As the archbishop refused to favour them, unless they renounced their discipline, and engaged themselves to complete conformity with the church, they applied to her majesty, and largely vindicated themselves from the reproaches cast upon them. What effect this application had, I know not; but Cartwright was liberated, and restored to his hospital in Warwick, while Fenner, Field, Travers, and many others continued in prison, and their families were starving.—Stone, Perkins, Johnson, and too many other Puritan clergy, answered upon oath, and informed their persecutors of their assemblies and discipline, thus purchasing their own ease at the hazard of their brethren.—To render the Puritans odious, Hacket, who imagined himself to be Jesus Christ, and Coppinger and Arthington his prophets, with every other enthusiast, were represented as of their number; but Cartwright vindicated them from all connection with such.

When the parliament met in 1592, Elizabeth notified to them, That every thing relative to the church was to be left to her. Attorney Morrice, who had just before published, *Reasons against the oath, ex officio*, and proved it contrary to scripture, the practice of heathen persecutors, the laws of the land, and her majesty's prerogative, ventured to propose an inquiry into the bishops' procedure in their spiritual courts, in compelling men to their inquisitions and subscrip-

tions, and to take an oath for accusing themselves,—or in degrading, depriving, and imprisoning people at their pleasure; and he offered two bills, one against the oath *ex officio*, and another against illegal imprisonments. Sir Francis Knolles seconded him. For this presumption, both of them were banished from the court. Morrice was deprived of his chancellorship in the duchy of Lancaster, and of all power to act as a lawyer, and was for several years detained in prison. Elizabeth told the parliament, That her power over them was absolute, and she would allow no such bills to be exhibited. Terrified by the fate of Morrice and Knolles, the parliament submitted; and to pacify her, enacted, That all persons above sixteen years of age, that refused to attend their established churches, or who had any hand in promoting non-conformity, should, without allowance of bail, be imprisoned till they made a proper confession of their fault, and engaged to uniformity; that if they did not so within three months, they should be for ever banished the kingdom; and that if they did not leave it within the time prescribed, or did ever return, they should suffer death, without benefit of clergy. Meanwhile, the Papists were condemned to banishment, or to confinement within five miles of their residence.

To evade the cruel force of this terrible act, the moderate Puritans came to church, when the common prayers were over, and received the Lord's supper in churches, in which some latitude with respect to the table posture was allowed. The Brownists fell under the whole weight of it. One of their congregations being discovered, about sixty of seventy or them, after

manifold harassments, were thrown into different prisons. After a most cruel imprisonment, Barrow, a gentleman, Greenwood and Penry ministers, all remarkable for piety, were hanged as traitors. But their dying professions of their loyalty, and the total want of evidence to the contrary, made their most effronted adversaries, even Elizabeth herself, almost ashamed of their groundless calumny and murder. About seventeen or eighteen other Brownists died in their prisons.—Meanwhile, though the Papists had raised several insurrections against her,—though they had supported Mary of Scotland's right to her crown, and after her death that of the Infanta of Spain,—and had concurred with the Spanish invaders in 1588, Elizabeth, either from love, or from fear, generally used them as her dear children. During the first eleven years of her reign, not one of them was capitally prosecuted. During the next eleven, notwithstanding the Pope's excommunication above mentioned, and repeated rebellions, no more than twelve priests were executed, almost every one for crimes relating to the state. For the next ten, notwithstanding multitudes of Jesuits laboured to their uttermost in seducing the subjects to join the Spaniards, no more than fifty priests were executed, and fifty-five banished. During the last twelve years of her reign, they had almost as much freedom to profess, practise, and propagate their idolatries, and superstitions, as they could have wished.

Till about A. D. 1588, the English Protestants had all believed, That the superiority of diocesan bishops above presbyters was merely founded on the laws and inclinations of men.

Bancroft, now chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift, to the great offence of the Puritans and others, in a sermon, pled for the *divine right* of it. About 1594, he, Bilson, Bridges, Cosins, and Saravia, published their *Defences* of Episcopal powers, and notwithstanding the restraint of the press, were answered by Bradshaw, Fenner, Morrice the attorney, and Beza. The learned, but poor, Hooker, published the first four books of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, in which he chiefly attempts to prove, That the scriptures are not the rule of church discipline and government; and that therefore she may appoint whatever forms or ceremonies she judgeth most conducive to edification.—In 1595, Fletcher succeeded Aylmer in the bishopric of London. In his first visitation of his diocese, he set out with twenty seven *Articles of Enquiry* for church wardens, concerning their preachers, by means of which he quickly replenished the prisons, which, for a little, had been tolerably emptied, with Puritan preachers. It happened well that his marriage drew upon him Elizabeth's displeasure, suspension of him from his office, and banishment from the court. These breaking his proud heart, he was succeeded by the still more unmerciful Bancroft.

The learned Ainsworth, Johnson, Smith Robinson, and Jacob, principal leaders among the Brownists, having before fled to Holland, multitudes followed them, and erected churches according to their own plan, at Amsterdam, Arnheim, Middleburgh, Leyden, and other places.—About this time, Dr. Bound published a tract on the *Due Sanctification of the Lord's day*. All the Puritans relishing his sentiments, distinguished themselves by their Sabbath behaviour.—Hereon

the customary shooting, fencing, bowling, interludes, and May-games, and Morris dances on it, began to be disused and disliked. This exceedingly galled the clerical managers, and their agents, who hated every appearance of strict piety. Archbishop Whitgift and Judge Popham called in the copies of Bound's book, and prohibited the reprinting of it. This made it more read than ever, not without remarkable success.

Meanwhile, Barret, a fellow of the university of Cambridge, in a discourse to the clergy, declared himself against the Calvinistical doctrines of predestination and perseverance in grace. The heads of the university obliged him to retract, and Whitgift, Hutton of York, and some others, drew up the *Articles of Lambeth*, which bear, That God, not moved by any foreseen faith or good works of men, but of his mere good pleasure, hath chosen some particular persons to everlasting life; all of whom, and no other, certainly obtain it; that saving grace is not bestowed upon all men; that no man can by the power of his free will come to Christ and be saved; that justified persons have assurance of remission of sins and of eternal salvation; that true saints never fall totally nor finally from their state or exercise of grace. Had not Whitgift and his friends, for their own sake, implored Elizabeth's forbearance, she had brought the formers of these articles, which she disliked, or who required the students to assent to them, under the statute of *premunire*. She was nevertheless highly offended with Dr. Baro, a Frenchman, for continuing the debate in favour of Barret; and at last obliged him to resign his professorship. The university of Oxford harmonized in sentiment with that of

Cambridge, and Calvin's Institutions were publicly read by order of the convocation. About the same time, the learned Broughton, Bilson, and others, had a warm dispute, Whether Christ suffered the wrath of God in his soul? and, Whether he descended to the local hell? After the disputants had fatigued themselves, the controversies were dropt in both the universities.

Towards the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, hopes of approaching redress from the apparent heir to the crown, somewhat quieted the Puritans. Afraid of having their cruelties returned on their own heads by a Puritan sovereign, the ruling clergy delivered over the prosecuted into the hands of the civil judges, some of whom handled them in a furious and brutal manner. During her very last years, the dispute seemed almost hushed, and the Puritans increased to about fifteen hundred preachers.—The Popish missionaries also, notwithstanding their furious contentions between the seculars and the Jesuits, laboured with great diligence, and no inconsiderable success.—The parliament, which met in 1601, renewed their attacks upon the power of the spiritual courts. Pluralities, non-residence, procedure *ex mero officio*; exchange of penance for money, and other clerical corruptions. But Elizabeth interposing, prohibited them to debate the cause, and referred it to the Archbishop, who was at some pains to render the clerical courts more circumspect.—At last she died in 1603. She was extremely haughty, and took a pleasure in manifesting her power and authority, especially over the consciences of her subjects. She never appears to have stuck at any dissimulation which served her own purposes. Regard for her own

supremacy chiefly hindered her from being a Papist. She was not much more mercifully disposed to Protestants of a tender conscience, than Mary her sister. Her improvement of the great abilities of some of her statesmen, so as to make their suggestions seem her own, was the principal ornament of her reign. Pomp and power, not the glory of God, or the welfare of souls, appear to have been the governing motives of her darling clergy. Many of her ruling Bishops were no less truly persecutors, than the Popish ones under Mary had been. It however grieved them much that Elizabeth was no friend to the clerical wealth.

CHAPTER VII.

King James is courted by all Parties—Abuses the Puritans at the Conference of Hampton Court, but kindly useth the Papists, notwithstanding their Gunpowder Plot—Pushes toward Arbitrary Power—Orders a new Translation of the Bible—Encourages Sports on the Lord's Day—Continues to persecute the Puritans—But, by the Marriage of his Son and otherwise, encourages the Papists—Character of him and his Court clergy.

JAMES VI. of Scotland had no sooner succeeded as nearest heir to the crown of England, than all the different parties courted his favour. Whitgift and his fellow Bishops, dispatched Henry Nevil, Dean of Canterbury, to assure him of their unfeigned loyalty,—and to recommend their church to his care,—and to beg his command relative to their spiritual courts. He returned them answer, That he intended to support their government as Elizabeth had left it. The Papists welcomed him to England; and put him in mind, that he had been born and baptized a member of their Catholic church, which he had called

his spiritual mother,—and for whose religion his royal mother had died a martyr. The foreign Protestants had a kind reception, and his promise of maintaining their religious liberty. As, in Scotland, James had long professed himself a Presbyterian, and on some occasions, had extolled the Scotch form of worship and government to the highest, the Puritans hoped for remarkable relief under his shadow. About eight hundred of their ministers, out of twenty-five counties, presented to him that which was called the *Millenary Petition*, in which they begged, That the cross in baptism, the interrogations put to infants, and their confirmation by bishops, might be laid aside; that the use of the cap and surplice might be no more urged; that persons should be examined before admission to the Lord's Supper; that the use of the ring in marriage might be omitted; that the *Common Prayer* might be abridged; that the singing in churches might be modified to better edification; that the profanation of the Sabbath might be restrained, and the observation of other holy days less strictly urged; that none but canonical Scripture might be read in the public worship of God; that ministers may not be charged to direct their people to bow at mentioning of the name of JESUS; that none be admitted to any charge of souls but such as are able, and obliged to preach on the Lord's day; that such present incumbents as cannot preach, be either removed, or obliged to maintain preachers in their stead; that pluralities and non-residence be prohibited; that clergymen's marriage be declared lawful; and that they be only required to subscribe the *Articles of Religion* and the *Oath of Supremacy*; that bi-

shops give up their *commendams*; that impropriations annexed to bishoprics and colleges be only bestowed upon incumbent preachers; that a sixth or seventh part of the impropriation be assigned for a maintenance to the preacher; that no church censures be administered by mere laymen, chancellors, &c. that none be excommunicated for twelve-pence matters, or without consent of their pastor; that ecclesiastical processes be abridged, and some Popish canons abrogated; that the oath *ex officio*, requiring men to be their own accusers, be more sparingly used; that licences for clandestine marriages be more rarely granted, &c.

Stung to the very heart by this reforming petition, and terribly afraid of losing their impropriations, the university of Cambridge enacted, that all such as, in any matter or manner, opposed the established doctrine or discipline, should *ipso facto*, be suspended from whatever degrees they had obtained, and be for ever incapable to receive any. The university of Oxford published a vindication of the corruptions complained of in this petition; and though, exclusive of Puritans and dignified clergy, not any great number of the incumbents were much removed from gross ignorance, or even capable of a regular admission to the Lord's Table, they boasted that all the other Protestant churches could not afford so many learned men as England alone. Other petitions, like to the above-mentioned, were presented to his Majesty, and several papers enforcing them published, to which their opponents quickly returned answers. The conformists much dreaded the ensuing Parliament.—Whitgift wish-

ed rather to account to God for his conduct, than to it; and actually died before it met.

James heartily hated these Puritans and their reformatiions. But, that he might more plausibly part with them, he appointed a conference between them and their opponents at Hampton court, in the middle of January, 1604. Archbishop Whitgift, eight other bishops, and eight or ten other learned dignitaries, were appointed to defend the cause of the conformists—while no more than John Reynolds, whom his brother William had converted from Popery, while himself became a Papist, and Spark, doctors of the university of Oxford, and Chadderton and Knewstubs of Cambridge, were allowed to maintain the cause of the Puritans. James himself was moderator; and his courtiers were witnesses. On the first day, the Puritans were not admitted, but his Majesty represented to the bishops, what he apprehended wrong in their service book. Bancroft, falling on his knees, begged that nothing in it might be altered, lest the Papists and Puritans should triumph over them, as acknowledging that they had formetly been in an error. Nevertheless, to satisfy James, they added some words in the office of *confirmation* and *absolution*. And they agreed to consider, whether the administration of baptism should be restricted to lawful ministers and midwives, who were ordinarily known to administer it in a due manner. On the second day, the Puritan doctors being admitted, Reynolds was their principal speaker. He insisted that some few words in the *Thirty-nine Articles* might be added, explained, or omitted; that the confirmation of children by the bishop be considered; that plu-

rality of benefices might be disallowed, and preaching ministers every where settled; that the reading of the Apocrypha in the public worship of God, instead of his own word—the baptismal interrogation relative to the infant—the sign of the cross in baptism—the superstitious vestments—the symbolical ring in marriage—and the purification of child-bearing women, ought to be abolished, because relics of Popery. He also complained of excommunications by lay chancellors, and entreated that clergymen be allowed to meet together every three weeks for their mutual improvement.

During this conference, Bancroft again fell upon his knees, and begged that schismatics might not be suffered to speak against their bishops; and that his Majesty would provide a ministry which could read prayers and homilies; for they had too much preaching already, in which many dared to vent their malice against their superiors. The conformist disputants scarcely needed to open their mouths. Proud of his theological abilities, James, chiefly with hectoring and bluster, so confounded the Puritan doctors, that even Reynolds, that miracle of learning, sunk far below his ordinary dignity, reckoning it vain to oppose the torrent of royal, though often pitiful, abuse. At the end, James told them, that since they had no other objections, he would make them conform, or drive them out of his kingdom. To his inconceivable satisfaction, he had his labour extolled by Bancroft and others, as if in wisdom he had almost exceeded Solomon himself, and had never had a royal equal since our Saviour's birth. On the third day, the conformists satisfied him concerning the

High Commission, and the oath *ex officio*; which was the more easy, as they appeared to belong to his own prerogative. When he extolled the wisdom of their institutions, Whitgift cried out, that undoubtedly his Majesty spoke by the direction of the Spirit of God.

In consequence of this conference, a committee was appointed to devise regulations for lessening the charges of the High Commission, and for planting schools, and for settling proper ministers in Ireland, in which the Popish party had been lately reduced, and on the borders of Scotland and England, where theft, robbery, and other disorders exceedingly prevailed.—The Puritans refused to be concluded by this mock conference. The disputants on their side had not been chosen by them, nor thought many things sinful, which their brethren did—nay, had refused to represent these to his Majesty—nor had they been permitted to debate the points which they had mentioned, in any proper manner. They complained that Barlow, in his narrative, published without the knowledge of his Puritan opponents, had given a most unfair account of the conference, and modestly confuted whatever the bishops had said, in a Representation directed to his Majesty. But, for their effectual conviction, James, without consulting either Parliament or convocation, by his royal proclamation, commanded their complete uniformity in the use of the *Service Book*, as now corrected. Whitgift died about six weeks after this conference, and two months after, Cartwright, his more valuable antagonist.

James being naturally fond of absolute power, the flatteries of his conforming clergy tempted

him to exercise it. Before the Parliament met, he, by a proclamation, charged all the Jesuits and Popish priests to leave the kingdom; but carefully informed the world, that it was not on account of their religion, but for their maintaining the Pope's power over Princes. And by another, he commanded all the Puritans to conform immediately, or underlie the extremities of law. In his speech to his first English Parliament, he acknowledged the Popish to be his mother church, though defiled with some infirmities and blots, and declared himself ready to indulge the Popish clergy, if they but renounced the Pope's supremacy, and his pretended power to dispense with the murder of Sovereigns; and that he would be glad to meet Papists half way in order to union; but eagerly declared Puritans unsupportable in any well-governed state. He moreover informed the Parliament of his hereditary right to the crown; and that he was answerable to none but God for his conduct. The Parliament quickly perceived, that they had no longer to deal with the sagacious and determined Elizabeth, and so took their own course. To the great vexation of the bishops, they appointed all processes in ecclesiastical courts to be wholly issued in the name of the Sovereign, and under his seal of array. They also annulled all grants of church lands, which had been made to the crown for twenty years immediately preceding. They legitimated the marriage of clergymen, by reviving the act of Edward VI. for that effect; for under Elizabeth their marriages had been merely tolerated, and their children were bastards in law-reckoning. In the convocation, Egerton, Fleetwood, Wotton, Clark, and other

Puritans, petitioned for a correction of the *Service Book*: but they and their brethren were commanded to conform before Midsummer, or underlie the censures of the church. In the Upper House, Rudd, Bishop of St. Asaph, insisted, at considerable length, for some indulgence to their scrupulous brethren: but he was obliged to drop it.

In this convocation, the *Book of Canons* was approved by the clergy, and was afterward ratified by his Majesty's letters patent. It consisted of a hundred and forty-one Articles, collected from the Injunctions and other episcopal or synodical acts under Edward VI. and Elizabeth. It enacted, that whoever should affirm the church of England not a true apostolical church, or that her established form of worship was in any respect corrupt or superstitious, or that any of her *Thirty-nine Articles* could not be subscribed with a safe conscience, or that any of her ceremonies were wicked, and not to be used, when commanded by authority, or her government by archbishops, bishops, deans, &c. was antichristian, and contrary to the word of God, or that any thing in the *ordinal* for consecration of bishops, priests, and deacons, was contrary to the word of God, or that persons consecrated according to it, needed any other call or ordination to their office:—And, that whoever separated from the communion of the church of England, or set up any other communion in opposition to it, or that affirmed, that any such was a lawful church, or affirmed, that ministers or laymen might, without the King's authority, make any rules for church government, or who submitted to such rules,—should, *ipso facto*, be excommuni-

cated, not to be absolved but by the archbishop, after proper evidence of their repentance, and a public recantation of their wicked errors.— It further enacted, that no appeal from any ecclesiastical judge shall be sustained, unless the appellant solemnly promise conformity to the church of England according to the *Service Book*, and subscribe an approbation of it, and of the *Thirty-nine Articles*, and the King's supremacy; that none be allowed to preach, lecture, or catechise without such engagement; that people bow at the mention of the name JESUS; that all clergymen officiate in the surplice and other sacred robes; that all communicants kneel in receiving the Lord's Supper; that not parents, but godfathers and godmothers, present children to baptism; and that ministers baptize all children so presented, unless their parents were excommunicated.

Bancroft being advanced to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and encouraged by the lawyers' decision of the king to be absolute governor of the church, persecuted the Puritans with such unrelenting rigour, that, burning excepted, they were much about as miserable as under Mary the bigoted Papist. Of above fifteen hundred such preachers, three hundred were quickly deprived for scrupling to subscribe the articles of uniformity,—some excommunicated, some imprisoned, and others driven from their country. The king and Star-chamber court assisted him in denying them the common privileges of subjects secured by law. By a second demand of subscription, Bancroft renewed his persecution. So many of the London clergy refused to subscribe again, that a great part of the churches were in danger

of being laid desolate for want of preachers,—had not the prodigious number of scruplers, which now appeared, alarmed the court, and made them, for a time, to relax their prosecutions. Such as insisted for a total separation from the establishment, were especially distressed; hence the moderate Dr. Ames, and Parker, the author of the *Ecclesiastical Policy*, and several Brownists, retired to Holland, where these soon fell by the ears, and excommunicated one another. This, together with the other Puritans' debates among themselves, relative to the propriety of separation from the church, occasioned no small joy to their conformist opposers.

Notwithstanding King James's boasting, that the Papists might be good subjects, while Puritans could not be safely tolerated in any well regulated state, they, in 1605, attempted to blow up him and his whole parliament by the force of gunpowder, intending to lay the blame on the Puritans. Their enterprize being seasonably discovered and prevented, James, in a few days after, told his parliament, That the Puritans deserved to be burnt for denying the salvation of Papists. The parliament enacted, That whosoever came not to church, should pay twelve pence for every Sabbath they were absent, unless they could give a satisfying excuse to the justices of the peace. This fell especially on the Puritans, as means were used for protecting the Papists. The Puritan clergy offered a public disputation concerning the lawfulness of the ceremonies, particularly officiating in the surplice, crossing in baptism, and kneeling at the Lord's Supper; but it was refused them. Hereupon, these in Lincolnshire drew up an *Apology*, in which they offered

to subscribe to his supremacy; but could not subscribe their unlimited assent to the *Book of Common Prayer* and the *Thirty-nine Articles*, as they thought some things in them contrary to the word of God. They objected, That the *Book of Common Prayer* or *Service Book* leaves out a great part of Scripture, and often the most edifying, never to be read in public; and prescribes the reading of a hundred and four out of one hundred and seventy-two chapters of the Apocrypha, in their room; that a bad translation of the Bible is appointed to be read in public service; that surplices, crossing in baptism, and kneeling at the Lord's Supper, ought not to be used, as they have been abused to idolatry by the Papists, and have a mystical signification annexed to them; and because God alone hath power to appoint ceremonies in his own worship, &c.—These objections received an answer from Bishop Moreton and Dr. Bourges.—Downham, Sparkes, Covell, Hutton, Rogers, and Ball, wrote in favour of the ceremonies, and were answered by Bradshaw, Baynes, Ames, and others.

The scruplers being intolerably reproached as *heretics, schismatics, fanatics, precisians, Enemies to God and their King*, Bradshaw published his *English Puritanism*, which is a kind of Confession of Faith concerning religion in general; pastors; elders; church censures; and civil magistracy,—for the information of foreigners, by means of Dr. Ames, now Professor of divinity at Franeker in Holland. Some others published a declaration of their principles concerning the power of magistrates about sacred matters, somewhat of an Independent taste. The ministers of Devonshire and Cornwall published a vindi-

cation of themselves and friends on the head of loyalty to his majesty. About three years before, James had assured the inhabitants of Jersey; that he would not make any change upon their forms of worship: but Bancroft persuaded him to violate his promise, and abolish their order of Geneva, and force them to a uniformity with the English church. This occasioned no small trouble to both ministers and people; and made not a few of them flee into other places.

When the parliament met in 1610, and a member had very boldly inveighed against the ambition and tyranny of the ecclesiastical rulers, and against the King's arbitrary imposition of taxes,—James, encouraged by Bancroft, and by a royally licensed publication of his vicar general, bearing, That kings were not bound by laws or oaths, or to regard the consent of their subjects in raising of taxes,—called both houses to Whitehall, and told them, that it was seditious for them to dispute what kings may do;—and prohibited them to touch upon any principal points of his government. Regardless of his high words, they asserted their rights, petitioned for a strict execution of the laws against Papists,—a prohibition of pluralities,—and an indulgence of Puritan preachers, without obliging them to subscribe the terms of uniformity. They also remonstrated against the high commission, and their tyrannical procedure.—About this time, died Bancroft, and was succeeded in the Archbishopric by the pious, and moderate, and almost half Puritan, Abbot.—In 1611, the *new*, and still authorized *Translation of the Bible* was published, in consequence of the Puritans' objections to that of the bishops', in the conference at Hampton

court. It is a most valuable translation, but a little marked with Episcopalian zeal. Hence come *vestry, vestments, bishops, bowing* at the name of Jesus, &c. In 1612, Legat and Wightman, who, I suppose had been seduced by the then dispersed Socinian missionaries, were burnt for denying the true godhead of Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost, and a third languished in prison till he died. What proper pains were taken to convince them of their errors, I know not.—About this time died prince Henry, a virtuous youth, from whose happy succession to his father, deliverance from spiritual oppressions was expected. It was even suspected that James caused him to be poisoned on account of the great regard paid to him by his subjects. But while he and his agents were labouring to subvert the true protestant religion and liberty in Britain, God laid the foundation of a far distant deliverance in the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to Frederic Elector Palatine of the Rhine, in whose issue the British royalty hath been long established. It is remarkable how heartily the Puritans were attached to, and prayed for this alliance and its issue, when there appeared no prospect of their being our sovereigns.

About A. D. 1616, Henry Jacob having adopted Robinson's plan of mild Brownism, and returning from Holland, did, with solemn fasting, found the first congregational church in England. The Independents claim him for their parent, rather than the scandalous Brown.—Not long after, James took a journey to Scotland, to introduce his darling ceremonies into the worship of God there. As he returned through England, particularly through Lancashire in 1617, he was

exceedingly grieved to see the country so deeply infected with Puritanical observation of the Lord's day; in consequence of which the holy seasons of Lent and other festivals were less regarded. To check this growing sanctification of the Sabbath, and thereby confute the Popish arguments against the Protestant religion, he, contrary to his own proclamation in the first year of his reign, and contrary to the *Irish Confession of Faith*, which had just passed under his great seal, issued a proclamation, bearing, That after divine service on the Lord's day, his subjects should be allowed their lawful diversions of dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, May-games, Whitsuntide-ales, Morris-dances, erection of May-poles, &c. and women be allowed to adorn the churches with rushes, &c. before sermon,—and pretending to prove the lawfulness of such sports;—but forbidding bull-baiting, interludes and such like, as unlawful;—and prohibiting common people to play at bowls, which was reserved for persons of rank at any time. Papists and Puritans were deprived of these diversions, because they came not to their parish churches. Had not Archbishop Abbot and others interceded, he had caused this proclamation to be read from all the pulpits in the kingdom; but it was only done in Lancashire, where Papists now so much abounded. Nothing better could be expected from a king, in whose court scarce any thing could be heard but oaths, and language bordering on blasphemy.

The Dutch synod of Dort, consisting of thirty-eight divines, five professors of divinity, and twenty-one ruling elders from the United Provinces, with twenty-eight foreign divines, met in 1618. As James had been a furious opposer of the Ar-

minians, and violently opposed the admission of Vorstius to be Professor of divinity at Leyden, he was glad to have an opportunity of sending Carleton, Davenant, Hall, Ward, and Balcanquel to Dort. Dr Goad succeeded Hall, whose health could not endure that climate. They all assented to every article of the Dutch confession, except that which relates to parity of ministers, and to church discipline. They heartily agreed with the synod in their decisions against the Arminian doctrines, except that Davenant and Ward held some kind of universality of redemption, and that some not elected might be saved. But Davenant, as well as Hall, afterward declared, that the Arminian tenets could not be adopted in a consistence with the doctrine of the church of England. Meanwhile, to the great joy of foreign Protestants, English Puritans, and Archbishop Abbot, the Elector Palatine was chosen king of Bohemia. But James, who hated all elective royalty, and was loath to displease the Spanish court, from which he expected a wife to Charles his son, disliked his son-in-law's advancement, and, notwithstanding the eagerness of his subjects, shifted his assistance, till his daughter and her family were reduced to an almost permanent beggary.

In 1620, the congregation of Robinson, a pious and moderate Brownist, at Leyden, being on the decline through the death of old members, and marriage of the young into Dutch families, they resolved to remove to some part of America, under the protection of England, where they might preserve their religion. They sold their estates, and bought two ships; and after solemn fasting and prayer for God's blessing and protection, set

sail for that country. One of their ships failing, they all embarked in the other, and arrived safe at Cape Cod, Nov. 9. Notwithstanding innumerable hardships, especially during the first winter, they laid the foundation of the New England colony, which hath since proved a remarkable refuge for many persecuted fearers of God, and in which multitudes have been converted to Christ.

Buckeridge, Harsnet, Neile, and Laud, having embraced the Arminian errors,—by their flattering of James in his notions and practice of arbitrary government, made him their hearty friend, and were advanced to some of his principal bishoprics. The Calvinists zeal to preserve the liberties of the nation made him heartily hate them. In consequence hereof, he reckoned all that opposed his arbitrary managements to be Puritans, who began to be distinguished into *State Puritans*, who contended for a limited monarchy, and *Church Puritans*, who maintained the doctrines of the Reformation in opposition to Arminius. When the parliament met in 1621, the commons drew up a large remonstrance, in which they complained of the danger of the Protestant religion from the increase of Papists, their numerous conventicles, the remission of the fines imposed on them by law, the education of many children of rank in Popish seminaries abroad, and the spread of Popish books; and they besought his Majesty to assist his son-in-law in recovering his electorate; and to break off all attempts toward a marriage of his son Charles with the Spanish Infanta, and marry him to some Protestant princess. James, hearing of this, prohibited

them to meddle with his government, or his son's marriage ; and, because they were not as pliable as he wished, he dissolved them.

Having thus got rid of his troublesome houses of parliament, he commanded the Popish prisoners to be liberated. About four thousand Jesuits and others obtained their release. Informed of this, multitudes of Jesuits and other Papists flocked into England. Mass was openly celebrated in the country. In London, their private meetings were so crowded, that in 1622, the floor sunk under one of them, and killed the preacher, and about ninety-three others. Meanwhile, the established pulpits were carefully filled with zealots for arbitrary power ; and such as dared to assert the rights of the subjects were punished. Mr. Knight having, in a sermon before the university of Oxford, taught, That subordinate magistrates may defend themselves against their sovereign, if he become a tyrant, and attempt to force their compliance with idolatry or blasphemy. Being prosecuted and interrogated, What authority he had for such an assertion, he quoted Paræus on Rom. xiii. but chiefly his majesty in assisting the Protestants of Rochelle against their French sovereign. Himself was imprisoned. Paræus's commentaries were publicly burnt at London and Oxford, and his assertion condemned as seditious. The university of Oxford declared, that it was unlawful for subjects, upon any account, to take arms against their king ; and all graduates were obliged to subscribe it, and to swear, That they would always continue in that opinion.—To distress the Puritans still more effectually, James commanded his bishops to prohibit clergymen's ouch-

ing in their sermons any thing not contained in the *Thirty-nine Articles*; to put down all afternoon sermons, and substitute an explication of the *Catechism*, *Creed*, and *Ten Commandments* in their place; and that such as only catechised the children be chiefly countenanced and preferred; that none below a bishop or dean should touch on the deep points of predestination, or the universality, efficacy, or resistableness of God's grace; that no preacher should dare to set bounds to the royal prerogative, or touch any matter of state; that no preacher should rail against Papists or Puritans (who were added for a sham;) that Bishops and Archbishops be more cautious in licensing of preachers; and that all disobeyers of these injunctions shall be punished with suspension from office and benefice, till the archbishops, with advice of their convocation, prescribe some further punishment.—Formerly the Puritans had only offended by scrupling Popish ceremonies or forms of government. Now, their faithful adherence to what they had been required to subscribe in the *Thirty-nine Articles*, contrary to Arminianism, rendered them offenders, and excluded them from preferment. Nay, in many places, bishops and their officials restricted preachers to the express words of the *Catechism* in their afternoon work.

Having, to his inexpressible grief, accidentally killed a man in hunting, Archbishop Abbot withdrew himself from the privy council, in which his advice had been little regarded, on account of his tenderness to pious and conscientious scruplers. Having lost their friend, many of these Puritans retired to America, and Popery came in like a flood. To promote the marriage of

Charles with the Spanish Infanta, it was agreed that she, and all her servants, children, and descendants, should have liberty to profess the Popish religion; that she should have a church, oratory, and chapel, furnished with all necessary ornaments and utensils; that she should have a bishop and twenty-four priests to officiate with full jurisdiction; that she and her servants should have full liberty to procure dispensations, indulgences, jubilees, &c. from Rome; that no English laws against Papists shall, in the least, affect the Popish descendants of this marriage, or stop their succession to the crown; that the Infanta shall educate her children in her own religion, till they be *ten* years of age. To these articles James swore before two Spanish ambassadors and twenty-four privy counsellors, who subscribed the treaty. He and his son swore also to some private articles, that there should be no future execution of the laws against Papists, nor any new ones made; that there should be a perpetual toleration of the Popish religion in private houses; that the Infanta should never be solicited to change her religion; that they should deal with the Parliament to rescind the laws against Papists. Charles further swore, that he would deal with his father to allow the Infanta to have the education of her children till they were *twelve* years of age; and that he would diligently hearken to such priests as she would employ to confer with him on points of religion. The Papists began to triumph, and the Protestants to tremble. Archbishop Abbot, by a letter, earnestly remonstrated against the match. After all, James solemnly called God to witness, that he sincerely detested Popery, and that the

increase of it was a heavy burden on his soul.—Meanwhile, his Parliament presented him with a list of fifty-seven Popish lords and knights in office, while scarcely any that was but suspected of Puritanism could be admitted to be a justice of peace. And, after finishing the French match for his son, he allowed ten thousand Papists to be confirmed at the French ambassador's lodging.

In 1625 James died, not without suspicion of poison. He was possessed of some learning, deeply tinctured with pedantry and self-conceit. He appears to have been void of all religion or common honesty, and remarkable for silly cowardice, base dissimulation, presumptuous perjury, profane swearing, lewd speech or behaviour, ambition of arbitrary power, and rage against Puritans. During his reign, Papists, but especially the Puritans, exceedingly increased, while the high churchmen, by their ignorance, error, and impiety, became the detestation of all sober Protestants. Their doctrine became at last high Arminianism. While himself, if he had any profession, was half or wholly a Papist. Bent on reconciling the Popish and Protestant fath, James's new bishops were almost perfectly similar. They maintained the Romish to be a true church, and the Pope the principal bishop in Christendom; they contended for the lawfulness of images in churches; and for the real presence of Christ in the sacrament; and that transubstantiation was but a scholastic nicety; they pled for auricular confession, and priestly absolution, and the merit of good works: they gave up with the morality of the Christian Sabbath: they claimed an uninterrupted succession of the epis-

copal character from the Apostles: they were mad on the imitating of Papists in rich furniture of chapels and gaudy pomp of worship. While they flamed with zeal in compromising matters with Rome, they were notoriously negligent of instructing their people in the truths of God. Almost every practical writer of note, as Willat, Dyke, Preston, Sibbs, Byfield, Bolton, Hildersham, Dod, Ball, Whatley, &c. were Puritans.

CHAPTER VIII.

Charles and his Favourites promote Arminianism and arbitrary Power—Laud labours to promote Popish Superstition and Tyranny—Cruelly prosecutes Leighton, Prynne, and other Opposers—After several Dissolutions, the Parliament stood their Ground—Promote Reformation of Religion—Enter into a religious Covenant with the Scots—Call an Assembly at Westminster, which compiled a Directory of Worship, Confession of Faith and Catechisms, Form of Church Government, notwithstanding much Opposition from the Independents and Erastians—After some years War with his Parliament, Charles was beheaded, notwithstanding all that the English and Scotch Presbyterians could do to oppose it.

CHARLES I. ascended his throne, a hearty enemy to the Puritans, looking on them as a kind of seditious and treacherous persons, who would take their first opportunity of revolting from the temporal jurisdiction, as they had done from the spiritual. His Queen, whom he almost adored, was a bigoted French Papist, and had the education of her children secured to her till they

should be *thirteen* years of age. Her conscience was directed by her confessor, assisted by the Pope's nuncio, and a secret cabal of jesuits and priests. Bishop Laud was of a rough temper, prone to severities, especially against the Puritans, impatient of contradiction, very arbitrary and superstitious; and though not an absolute Papist, extremely fond of near approaches to Popery, and of being patriarch of Britain and Ireland. The privy council and the Star-chamber, in which the same persons were members, and the High Commission, managed almost every thing. In some respects the last was worse than the Spanish Inquisition, as they punished people without any breach of law. Arminianism daily gained ground with all such as coveted preferment. Laud had attempted to have it approved by the convocation, had not Bishop Andrews persuaded him, that it was too soon to put it to the trial.

Henrietta, the Popish Queen, had scarcely arrived in England, when a plague followed her, and cut off above forty thousand in London and places about. A solemn fast was appointed, to supplicate God for the removal of it. When the Parliament met, the Commons earnestly remonstrated against the increase of Popery, and the several causes of it; and begged that the preaching of God's word might be increased, and the labours of pious, peaceable, and learned scruplers at the ceremonies used; and that pluralities, non-residences, and commendams might be moderated. Charles promised, in the fairest manner. But he had already begun to believe, that no faith is to be kept with Parliaments. Upon the very day after he had wrote to Archbishop Abbot,

to proceed against the Papists, and had, by a proclamation, required all English youth to be recalled from the Popish seminaries abroad, he appointed eleven Popish priests to be liberated. Fifty-nine Popish nobility and gentry were in places of power and trust. The titular Bishop of Chalcedon was appointed the Pope's vicar-general, and archdeacons all over England. Charles sent eight of his war ships to attack Rochelle. The rough sailors and soldiers, being more pious than the royal martyr, refused to fight for Papists against their Protestant brethren, but were betrayed into the hands of French officers.

Montague, one of his Majesty's chaplains, published his *Gag for an old Goose*; which contained several principles calculated to disturb the church or state. The House of Commons condemned it, and the archbishop prohibited him to write any more on such subjects. But, encouraged by the court, he quickly published his *Appeal to Cæsar*; the tendency of which was to promote Arminianism, and reconciliation with Rome, and to advance the King's prerogative above the laws of the land. After examination, the Commons condemned it, as contrary to the doctrine of the church of England, and bound Montague in recognizance of two thousand pounds, for his appearance at their bar, when called. Apprehending, or pretending, this to be an invasion of his Majesty's prerogative, and a dangerous precedent, Laud and other two bishops, through Buckingham, persuaded Charles to take the cause into his own hand; and soon after, to still the noise about the increase of Popery and his assisting of his Popish brother-in-

law against the Protestants of Rochelle, he dissolved the Parliament. Notwithstanding his extraordinary care to prevent the return of any Puritan members, by marking them out for sheriffs, the parliamentary Commons, next year, fell directly upon Montague's errors. He was accused of maintaining, that the church of Rome is, and always was, a true church, which had stood firm on the foundation of the sacraments and doctrine instituted by Christ; that no doctrine of faith, hope, or charity is controverted between Papists and Protestants; that images are useful for instructing the people, and as an excitement to devotion; that some saints and angels have a peculiar patronage over certain persons and countries; that justified persons may fall from grace:—and of branding Puritans, and even exact conformists, with odious names; of scoffing at preaching, lecturing, and all other appearances of serious religion; and that the scope of his book was to reconcile the English church to the Roman See. Charles again took the cause into his own hand, and dissolved the Parliament.

Nevertheless, Montague's Arminian errors were refuted from the press by Bishop Carleton, Doctors Sutliff, Featly, and Goad, and Messrs. Ward, Burton, Yates, Wotton, Prynne, Rouse, &c. Several conferences for debating the Arminian errors having happened, Charles, perhaps instigated by Laud and Neile, prohibited all further disputing on these points. Laud and his friends having the management in their hands, turned the edge of this proclamation wholly against the Puritans. They could not have their books printed, if they contained any thing against

Arminianism or Popery, while their opponents were allowed full liberty, and had no small encouragement. Archbishop Abbot was suspended from his office, for refusing to concur in betraying the liberties of church and state into his Majesty's hand, and for his Christian moderation towards such as scrupled at the ceremonies, or even the government of the church. And for much the same reason, Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, fell under the displeasure of the court. But Montague, Sibthorp, and Manwaring, Arminian stretchers of the royal prerogative, were caressed and preferred. When the Parliament met in 1628, they again remonstrated against the increase of Popery in England and Ireland, in which last Papists had boldly refused to concur in the defence of the kingdom, unless they were allowed a legal toleration, and to have houses for religious worship in Dublin and other places. But so impudent, in uttering falsehood, were Charles and Laud, that they pretended all these clamours about Arminianism and Popery to be groundless.

Buckingham, the long favourite minister, being stabbed to death, Laud, now made Bishop of London, became almost sole manager of both church and state. He published the *Thirty-nine Articles*, with a pitiful proclamation attending them, which prohibited all wresting of them either to the Arminian, or the opposite side, and all curious inquiries or disputes on the controverted points, under pain of due censure by the High Commission. Never was a more confused declaration printed; but the Puritans understood the design of it, and complained that they were restrained by it from teaching the saving doctrines of God's free grace, in the predestina-

tion of men to eternal life, according to the seventeenth *Article* of the church's established confession; that either they must offend God by concealing the truth, when opposed, or be censured if they teach the doctrines of the church, and attacked the Pelagian and Arminian errors, which King James had publicly censured as arrogant and scandalous: and they begged that his Majesty would speedily apply proper remedies, and preserve the church and state from such plagues as had distressed their neighbours. This address was stopped in its way to the King, by their opposers: but, for a sham, the offensive books of Montague and Manwaring were called in and suppressed, while their authors were preferred to ecclesiastical dignities. The Puritans' writings were also suppressed, and themselves prosecuted in the Star-chamber.—A proclamation was issued forth against the Popish priests and jesuits, particularly the Bishop of Chalcedon; and the mayor of London was required to search for, and commit them to prison, while commissioners were appointed to compound with them for their nonconformity, and Weston, a notorious Papist, was created Earl of Portland, and Lord High Treasurer of England.

When the Parliament again met, they immediately entered upon the consideration of *grievances* relative to religion; and after some warm speeches respecting the late proclamation calculated to suppress all opposition to Arminianism—and respecting the introduction of crucifixes, altars, lighted candles by day, images of saints and angels into churches, the Commons made a solemn protestation in favour of the original and true sense of the ARTICLES of the church, and re-

jecting the jesuitical and Arminian sense put upon them. Laud pretended to answer this protestation. As the Parliament refused to adjourn before they had protested, that whosoever should, in any manner, promote the introduction of Popery and Arminianism, should be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom, Charles, in a great rage, dissolved them, published his reasons, and denounced severe punishments against all such as should talk of any period for the calling of another. Hence, for twelve years, the religion and liberties of the nation lay prostrate under an inundation of Popery, Arminianism, and tyrannical oppression.

Regardless of the rights of conscience, laws of the land, and often of the canons of the church, Laud prosecuted his imaginary scheme of bringing the church of England as near to that of Rome, as could consist with his own and his master's supremacy, bearing down every opponent with unrelenting severity. To promote this, the churches must be repaired, and decked with images, pictures, altar-pieces, and the like, and the public worship embellished with pompous ceremonies, and the pious scruplers suppressed or driven out of the kingdom. By his direction, Charles published a new set of *instructions* for the bishops, requiring them to see that perfect silence be observed on the predestinarian controversies; that special care be taken of the lecturers, and all afternoon sermons be turned into catechising, unless when there is an uncommon reason to the contrary; that every lecturer, before his lecture, read the service in the *Prayer Book* in his *surplice* and *hood*; that none be admitted lecturers, who are not ready to take a

charge of souls, in the way of full conformity to the rules of the church; that the matter preached by lecturers be carefully observed; that none but noblemen, and others qualified in law, be allowed to keep chaplains; that care be taken to have reading of prayers and catechising as well attended as the sermons. Laud caused to transmit a copy of these instructions to every parson, for the due observation of them; and, by his archdeacons, made search for all lecturers and chaplains. These lecturers, so much suspected, were chiefly of the Puritan stamp, who scrupling at full conformity, only preached in the afternoon, having no legal benefice, but chosen and maintained by the people. Being men of a remarkable holy practice, strict observers of the Lord's day, warm preachers, and staunch Calvinists, Laud accounted them the great plagues of church and state. When a fast was observed in London for the removal of the raging pestilence, prayers were appointed to be read in all the churches; but not one sermon was allowed, lest the people should have wandered after some of these lecturers. The two Rogers, Dod, Hildersham, Ward, and many others of the more noted in the diocese of London, were suspended. For some hints against Arminianism and Popish ceremonies, Bernard, Chauncy, and Smart were prosecuted before the High Commission, Bernard till he was ruined with poverty, Chauncy till he recanted; and Smart lay eleven years in prison, till the Parliament liberated him. Affected with the constant persecution of their party, and the reduction of their families to beggary, without any prospect of deliverance, Messrs. Higginson and Skelton,

with about three hundred and fifty private persons, retired to America, and settled in the Massachusetts-bay, as their friends had formerly done at Plymouth. After landing, they entered into a solemn covenant to walk together in the fear of the Lord, and in church fellowship with one another. About seventy ministers, and four thousand planters are said to have retired to that continent from the tyrannical rage of Laud and his agents.

The persecutors vented their fury on as many as they could. In 1630, the learned Bishop Davenant, though a friend to universal redemption, was brought before the council for some Calvinistical hints concerning predestination, in his sermon before the King. He was dismissed upon his submission, but never more favoured at court. Mr. Leighton, a Scotch divine, and father to the bishop of that name, for some expressions against bishops, canons, ceremonies, and a Popish Queen, in his *Zion's Plea against Prelacy*, was condemned to prison for life, fined in £10,000 Sterling, and to be whipt, and after that fixed on the pillory at Westminster, have one ear cut off, and side of his nose slit up, and his face branded with *S. S.* to mark him a *sower of sedition*; and, after a few days, to be again whipt and pilloried at Cheapside, and have the other ear cut off, and side of his nose slit. When this inhuman sentence was pronounced, Laud took off his hat, and thanked God for it. It was completely executed, except that the Parliament, ten years after, released him from prison.

The church of *St. Catherine Creed*, London, being lately repaired, was suspended from divine service till it should be again consecrated. On

January 16, 1630, Bishop Laud, attended by several of the High Commissioners and some civilians, went to it. As he approached the west door, some, appointed for that purpose, cried with a loud voice, *Open ye the everlasting doors, that the king of glory may enter in.* The doors bursting open, Laud and his companions entered, and falling on his knees, with eyes lifted up to heaven, and his arms spread to form himself like a crucifix, he pronounced the place HOLY, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Then walking through the middle of the aisle, toward the chancel, he took up dust several times, and threw it into the air. Approaching toward the rail of the communion table, he bowed himself five or six times toward it. Returning thence, he and his attendants went in procession round about the church, repeating the 100th and the 19th psalms. He then read some short prayers, beseeching God to accept of that beautiful building; and that all that should ever be buried in it might rest in peace till Christ's second coming, and then rise to eternal life. Returning to the aisle, and sitting under a fine canopy of cloth, near the communion table, he, from a written book, read a number of curses against all such as should profane that holy place, by musters of soldiers, or by holding of civil courts in it, or by bearing of burdens through it; at the end of each curse bowing toward the East, and saying, let all the people say *Amen*. He next pronounced an equal number of blessings upon all that had any hand in planning or building it, or that should bestow ornaments or utensils upon it; at the end of each, bowing toward the East, and saying, let all the people say *Amen*. After a sermon suited to the occasion,

he then approached the altar, with five or six lowly bows. Coming up to that side of it, on which bread and wine stood covered, he bowed himself seven times. After reading a number of prayers, he drew near to the bread, and gently lifting the corner of the napkin which covered it, he retired a step or two, and made other three lowly bows towards it. Again advancing, he uncovered the bread, and bowed himself thrice more toward it. After laying his hand on the covered cup, he retired a little, and gave it three humble bows; and, again approaching it, he stepped back and gave it three more:—(Q. Did he believe the elements transubstantiated before their consecration?) After blessing of the bread and wine, Laud himself received the sacrament, and gave it to some principal clergymen who assist him in their surplices, hoods, and tippets. A number of more prayers being read, the consecration was finished. The church of St. Giles, after it had been used for three or four years, and several others after still longer use, were suspended from holy service, and shut up, till they were re-admitted by a like consecration. When the cathedral churches of London, Canterbury, Durham, and the chapel of Lambeth, were repaired, the Popish ornaments, images of divine persons not excepted, were carefully preserved, and new ones were procured, to render the places more comely and sacred. As the Puritans inveighed against these Popish fooleries or wickedness, the High Commission took care to punish them for their presumption.

In 1631, Laud, being made chancellor of the university of Oxford, expelled several of the fellows for preaching or teaching Anti-arminian

doctrine, and appointed others to be sharply admonished. For his singular appearances of piety, and for preaching twice every Lord's day, Mr. Crowder was deposed and imprisoned by the High Commission.—About four years before, Drs. Gouge, Sibbs, and other clergymen, had formed a scheme to buy up all the ecclesiastical impropriations, that were in the hands of laymen, and not in the service of the church, in order to bestow the profits thereof as salaries upon faithful and diligent preachers. Pretending that they chiefly bestowed them upon Puritans, Laud got them stripped of all that they had bought, and fined to boot. For speaking against images in churches, Hayden, a workman, was scourged, imprisoned, and forced to live on bread and water; and two ministers were suspended and excommunicated. Sherfield, a justice of peace, having understood that some ignorant people religiously bowed to seven images of God the Father, in the form of a little old man, in a blue and red coat, working at the creation of the world, in the painted glass windows of the old church of Salisbury, did, with consent of the wardens, take out these panes, and put new ones in their room. For this he was deprived of his recordership, fined in £500 Sterling, and committed to close prison, till he paid it. Meanwhile, Laud inspected the press, and expunged out of every book, for which licence was granted, every passage which disallowed of religious pictures, or of erecting, bowing, or praying to images. Because the English churches in Holland and Hamburgh refused to conform to his ceremonies, he harassed the foreign Protestants in England. He had scarcely returned from assist-

ing his Majesty to promote conformity in Scotland, 1633, when he was made Archbishop of Canterbury, instead of the now deceased, but long ago disgraced and hated Abbot; and in Charles's name remitted ARTICLES for the royal chapel at Edinburgh, to be a pattern to the rest of that kingdom.

Great complaints having been presented to Lord Chief Justice Richardson and Baron Denham, in their western circuit, of manifold mischiefs arising from revels, church-ales, clerk-ales,* &c. upon the Lord's day,—conform to many precedents under Elizabeth and James, and even one of 1629, they made an order for suppressing them, and required every minister to read it on three different Sabbaths every year, before Easter; and at their return punished some who had been guilty of disobedience. Laud, having complained of their invading the rights of bishops, they were cited before the privy council, sharply reprimanded, and required to recall their injunctions. Pierce, Bishop of Bath and Wells, informed Laud, how much the people disliked the suppression of their Sabbath revels; and what blessed means they were of bringing people to church, and of promoting mutual affection. Seventy-two of his clergy signed this information. Meanwhile, the justices of county represented these meetings as a remarkable source of profanation of the Sabbath, riotous tippling, con-

* N. B. To save their other time for labour, they observed their *Wakes* and *Feasts of Dedication* on the Lord's day. In their *Church Ales*, they drank together, and sometimes raised a stock for poor people. In their *Clerk Ales*, they drank at the clerk's house, that by the profit of his ale, and their compliments, they might help his small salary. *Bid Ales* were drinking matches for setting up people who had lost their substance. Their behaviour at these Sabbath meetings was much the same as at our penny weddings, drinking matches, &c.

tempt of authority, quarrels, murders, whoredom, and very prejudicial to the peace, plenty, or order of the country; and therefore begged that they might be suppressed. No less zealous for supporting and encouraging them, Laud caused Charles to re-publish his father's *Book of Sports*, adding a particular allowance of the revels above mentioned, along with an order to all the bishops to see that it should be read from every pulpit in the several parish churches of the kingdom, that all the subjects might know what liberties were allowed them. Laud thought the Puritans would refuse to read it from their pulpits on Sabbath, and so expose themselves to prosecutions, while his fashionable clergy, who reckoned the Sabbath of no more than ecclesiastical appointment, and no more but the time of public worship holy, would readily read it.

While the courtiers held their balls, masquerades, interludes, and plays on the Lord's day, and the country people, especially the youth, their revels, dances, wakes, May-games, church-ales, clerk-ales, bid-ales, and other recreations, many hundreds of the pious clergy were prosecuted before the High Commission, suspended, deprived, excommunicated, and forced to leave the kingdom, for refusing to read this *Book of Sports*. Laud and his party reckoned murder, adultery, and the like, almost no crimes in respect of this. To render the *Book of Common Prayer* more agreeable to the Papists, and more distressful to the Puritans, Laud, at his own hand, made some alterations in it. In the collect for the royal family, Elizabeth of the Palatinate and her distressed family were expunged. The prayer against the Papists for the 5th of November was

turned against the Puritans. An order was given to turn the communion tables into altars, and to compass them about with rails. Bowing at the name of Jesus was peremptorily required. Dreadful was the ferment which these alterations occasioned, particularly that which related to the communion table. Many ministers and church-wardens were fined and excommunicated, because they scrupled to obey.

Prynne, a noted lawyer, having published a book against stage plays, masquerades, and dancing, it was ordered to be publicly burnt by the hands of the hangman. He was deprived of his degrees in Lincoln's inn and the university of Oxford; he was pilloried at Westminster and Cheapside, at each of which places he had one of his ears cut off. He was fined in £5000, and committed to perpetual imprisonment. Dr. Bastwick, a physician, having published a tract against the Romish Bishops, in which he had denied the divine warrant for the superiority of bishops above presbyters, he was deprived of his office, excommunicated, fined in a £1000, and condemned to lie in prison till he should recant. Burton, a minister, was imprisoned for several years, because, in his published sermons, he had dropt some hints against Laud's innovations.—While the terrible procedure of the High Commission forced Elliot, Cotton, Davenport, Hooker, Shepherd, and Norton, all of them remarkable Puritan ministers, to flee into New England, Laud, having become chancellor in the university of Dublin, and having Lord Deputy Wentworth, afterward Earl of Strafford, on his side, he excluded the Puritan articles which Archbishop Usher had established in Ireland, and intro-

duced the *Thirty-nine* English articles in their stead,—denouncing an excommunication against all such as should affirm any of them to be superfluous or erroneous. The Dutch and French Protestants in England, consisting of ten congregations, and about six thousand communicants, had their pastors suspended, and their churches shut up, because they would not agree that their children in the second descent should be bound to conformity. Many of these foreigners left the kingdom, to the great hurt of the manufactures, and the poor employed in them. The English ambassador at Paris was prohibited to attend public worship with the French Protestants, but got a chapel of his own furnished to the liking of Laud, who declared, that he did not look upon the Hugonots as a part of the English's brethren in Christ. Provoked with these things, few of the foreign Protestants pitied the English Episcopalians in their subsequent distress. Solicited by his sister Elizabeth, Charles granted a brief for a general collection through England for the Protestant ministers of the Palatinate, which had been subdued and terribly distressed by the Popish troops of the emperor. But Laud prevented its success, by excepting, that in the Brief Papists were called Antichristians, and the religion of the Palatine Protestants, said to be the same with that of the church of England.

In summer A. D. 1635, Laud performed his metropolitical visitation, and had his spies every where, that no precentor, or even private person, was safe to speak in public companies, or even converse with his neighbours. Terrible were the prosecutions raised for neglecting to change

communion tables into *altars*, or for other disconformities to his injunctions. Many broke up house-keeping, intending to go to America. Informed of their design, the council prohibited all but soldiers, mariners, merchants, and factors to leave the kingdom without a passport from his majesty. Notwithstanding this restraint, Peter Bulkly and Richard Mather, pious clergymen, and many others, got off. To advance ecclesiastical power, Laud drew much of the business of Westminster hall into the spiritual courts, which the king allowed him to hold in name of the bishops. Being allowed a right to visit the universities, he drew up a system of new statutes for that of Oxford, in the preface to which he severely reflected on the disordering government of Edward VI. and extolled the reign of Mary, as producing a revival of discipline, and making the university to flourish, candour, through the much desired felicity of the times, supplying the place of statutes. The other bishops were empowered to form new articles of visitation in their particular dioceses; and to administer an oath to church wardens, upon which they should answer every thing asked of them. By these means, Powel, Calamy, Carter, Burroughs, Bridges, Greenhill, and about fifty other noted Puritan ministers, were suspended or otherwise punished, to the ruin of their families. Afternoon sermons on Sabbath were especially condemned, as they employed Puritan preachers, and hindered the revels.

Now the leading churchmen had attained their summit, grasping not only all ecclesiastical jurisdiction but also the highest preferments of the state. Juxon, Bishop of London, was made High

Treasurer, the most lucrative office in the kingdom, and which claims precedence next to that of the archbishop. The higher they were exalted, they became the more unfaithful, indolent, and many of them intolerably scandalous and proud. The sufferings of their opponents increased in the Star-chamber and High Commission, sticking at nothing cruel or illegal. A *Catalogue of God's Judgments on Sabbath Breakers*, an *Apology to the English Bishops*, and a *New Litany* being published, in which some sentences were said to be seditious, schismatic, and libellous, Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, prisoners, were charged with them in the Star-chamber. They prepared their answers; but could get no lawyer to sign them, nor would the court receive them from their own hands; but condemned them, as confessing what was laid to their charge: and because Burton, who had got one to sign his, would not acknowledge it after they had expunged all but nine or ten lines of it, he also was held to have confessed. Notwithstanding their earnest solicitations to have their answers read, Burton was deprived of his ministry and benefice, and along with Bastwick was pilloried at Westminster, and had their ears cut off. Prynne had his stumps rooted out, and his cheeks marked with *S. L.* to denote him a *Seditious Libeller*; and each of them was fined in £5000, and sent to different prisons, where they lay without paper, pen, or ink, or access to friends, till the parliament relieved them in 1640. Nay, such as shewed them any kindness as they were carried to prison, were prosecuted. Laud laboured to vindicate himself from the charge of attempting innovations in religion, and thanked the court for their just and honour-

able sentence, and for their zealous defence of the church. Multitudes in the nation, particularly ministers, lawyers, and physicians, did not so pleasantly digest this sentence, and the execution of it.

Much about the same time, a process was carried on against Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, and Osbaldiston, schoolmaster in Westminster. Williams had had a principal hand in the primary advancement of Laud; but he, having got himself fixed in the royal favour, removed Williams from all his preferments at court. Williams having attached himself to the liberties of church and state, and become pretty popular, happened among some of his clergy to condemn Laud's innovations, and to say, that the Puritans were his Majesty's best subjects; and that he had said he would treat them more mildly. Informed of this, Laud got him cited before the Star-chamber for revealing the king's secrets; but when that could not be got proved, he was accused of tampering with his Majesty's evidence, and without any proper proof the High Commission fined him in £11,000, and condemned him to arbitrary imprisonment. As his goods were sold to pay his fine, and his books and papers seized by the court, they found among them two or three letters received from Osbaldiston, about five years before, and never shown to any person, in which there were some dark expressions, which Laud applied to himself and Weston the Popish Treasurer. Upon this Williams was again charged with seditious libelling of the king's privy counsellors, fined in L.8000 more, which, because he could not pay, he was detained in prison till the parliament relieved him.

Osbaldiston deserted his school, and concealed himself, till the parliament met. But thinking that they carried matters too far, he again quitted his school, and espoused his Majesty's cause.

Noblemen still retained Puritan chaplains, and pamphlets were still published against the oppressing managers. A proclamation was therefore issued, prohibiting all books not licensed by the Archbishop, or Juxon of London. Multitudes still retiring to Holland or America, Charles and his council prohibited any to be allowed to depart without a testimonial of their conformity from their minister, or any minister without an attestation of his conformity by Laud or Juxon. The court clergy represented the differences between the Popish and English churches as very unimportant ; declared themselves for the invocation of saints,—the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist,—the mass and its propitiatory sacrifice,—images and crucifixes in churches,—auricular confession,—and merit of good works. The laws against Papists were suspended, and many of them were advanced to the highest places of power and trust, and had the ear of the Queen whenever they pleased. She had her agent at Rome, and the Pope had his nuncio in England. Cardinal Barbarini was constituted protector of the English nation ; and Richard Smith, titular Bishop of Chalcedon, exercised episcopal jurisdiction over the English Papists by commission from the Pope. Con, the legate, seduced severals, and by presents of his beloved toys and pictures made attempts upon Charles himself.—The civil liberties of the nation were quite unhinged, and all the judges, but Crook and Hutton, approved the methods of oppression

as agreeable to law. Still proceeding in their persecuting work, the Star-chamber and High Commission, in 1638, suspended and imprisoned Wilkinson, Walker, Smith, Small, Cooper, Brewer, Foxely, and other Puritan ministers, while Ezekiel Rogers, Samuel Newman, Charles Chauncey, ministers, and multitudes of private persons still flocked to New England. Eight ships were just ready to sail with such fugitives from oppression, in which, it is said, Cromwell, Hampden, and other noted opponents of Charles afterward, were aboard. But the privy council ordered all the passengers ashore, and prohibited all masters and owners of ships to launch for New England, without special licence from the council. Shut out from New England, Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Jeremiah Burroughs, William Bridges, and Sydrach Simson, ministers, with several gentlemen and merchants having disposed of their effects, retired to Holland, where they were kindly entertained, and had the Dutch churches allowed them at different hours for their public worship.

Notwithstanding all his pretences to friendship, Charles, in 1639, was labouring to his utmost to prepare for making war on his subjects and brethren of Scotland, whom Laud's impositions had awakened to assert their liberties and restore their religion. He found it necessary to call his English Parliament, to supply him with money for that purpose. Notwithstanding all their earnestness to oblige his Majesty, they, in their former manner, began with their *grievances* relative to religion. Highly provoked, Charles dissolved them, when they had sat about three weeks, without passing one act—and

committed their leading members to prison. Meanwhile, Laud and his convocation had been occupied in framing seventeen new *canons* relative to his Majesty's supremacy and birth-day; against Popery, Socinianism, and sectaries; an oath against attempting innovations in church or state; a declaration concerning the ceremonies; preaching up conformity; articles for parochial visitations; conversation of clergymen; chancellors; patents; and censurers; excommunications; commutations of penance; jurisdiction; licences to marry; vexatious citations. They also intended to compile a *Pontifical*, containing forms of consecrating churches, chapels, and church yards; of reconciling penitentiaries, and excluding apostates; articles of episcopal visitation, and a short prayer before sermon. But the sudden dissolution of the Parliament prevented the accomplishment of their projects. When their *canons* were published, they were generally disliked. Multitudes could not admit the absolute power of the King, or the unlawfulness of defensive arms against him in *any* case. The Puritans disliked the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th. The most of the clergy disliked the 6th, as it required them speedily to swear an oath with an ETC. in the midst of it, after an approved list of Popish church officers; and that they would never consent to *any* alteration in the government of the church. Many ministers, schoolmasters, and physicians besought his Majesty, that this oath might not be imposed. Hall, Bishop of Norwich, by a mitigating explication, induced his clergy to take it. But Laud and his party had forced it down the throats of their underlings, if Charles had not restrained them by his letter.

Meeting with bad success in his war with the Scots, and observing that many of the English either befriended them, or at least would not assist him against them, till they got their own *grievances* redressed, he found himself obliged to call another Parliament in 1640, when the condition of his court was truly miserable. By his ill usage of his Parliaments, and taking upon himself the faults of his ministers, he had much lost the affection of his subjects, and had but few friends of credit and interest at home. Both French and Spaniards were pleased with his distress. Foreign Protestants abhorred the ruling bishops, and wished well to their oppressed brethren. The Queen was hated by every body who regarded either religion or liberty. The bishops could not but expect to have their late tyranny resented, and their power abridged.—The judges were contemned and hated, for betraying the laws of their country, and giving their sanction to almost all the illegal proceedings of the privy council and Star-chamber. It is nevertheless certain, that few members of weight in the Parliament, had any intention to subvert the episcopal government of the church, till the haughty behaviour of the bishops and some other circumstances gradually led them to it.

Being met, the Commons immediately appointed a committee to receive grievances relative to religion. They soon attacked the late *canons*, and, after warm reasonings, found that clergy have no power to make any binding canons without consent of Parliament; that the late canons made by the convocation of London and York, are not obligatory on any of the subjects; that they contain many things inconsist-

ent with his Majesty's prerogative, laws of the land, rights of Parliament, and liberties of the subjects; that their grant of a tax or benevolence is contrary to law, and not binding upon any of the clergy. It was pled, that they had no power to sit after the Parliament was dissolved, and therefore all their *canons* were, *ipso facto*, null and void; that several of them were bad in themselves; and that the oath which they had framed, was in some points ambiguous, and in others directly false and illegal.

The convocation met again along with this Parliament; but having no commission from his Majesty, they transacted no business of importance; and after Laud, their great supporter, was impeached, they lost all heart, dwindled away, and broke up without either prorogation or adjournment. After he had, for many years, oppressed the conscientious part of the nation, Laud was now loaded with manifold crimes.—The Scotch commissioners accused him of making divers alterations in religion contrary to their standing laws, and imposing upon them a book of canons and a service book contrary to the discipline and government of their church; and that he had composed a public prayer for their destruction as traitors and rebels, and had caused it to be read in all the churches in England. The House of Commons impeached him of attempting to subvert their constitution, by an introduction of arbitrary power; of procuring sermons to be preached, and pamphlets printed, in which the authority of Parliament is denied, and the absolute power of the King asserted; of interrupting the course of justice by his messages, threatenings, and promises to the

judges; of selling justice himself, and advising his Majesty to sell places of judicature; of procuring the canons and oath imposed by the late convocation; of robbing his Majesty of his ecclesiastical supremacy, and pretending that spiritual jurisdiction is not derived from the crown; of introducing Popish ceremonies, and cruelly persecuting such as opposed them; of promoting men of corrupt principles and practice to the principal stations in the church; of retaining chaplains Popishly disposed, and committing to them the licensing of books, to the scandal of the Protestant religion; of attempting to reconcile the English church to the Romish; of discountenancing sermons, and silencing, depriving, imprisoning, and banishing godly and orthodox ministers; of dividing the church of England from her sister Protestant churches abroad; of being the author of all the late disturbances in Scotland and England; of endeavouring to deprive the kingdom of its legislative power, by alienating his Majesty from his Parliament. Upon this impeachment, Laud was imprisoned in the Tower, and soon after suspended from his archbishopric. After he had lain in prison about four years, ten other articles were exhibited against him, not much different in matter from some of these mentioned. Notwithstanding his own and his advocate's remarkable quibbling, so much of his indictment was proved, as, notwithstanding his Majesty's pardon, brought him to lose his head on Tower-hill, Jan. 10, 1645.

Much about the time that Laud was sent to the Tower, Bishop Williams was discharged; and Charles, to gain him to his side, promised him satisfaction for all the loss he had sustained.

Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, and Leighton were liberated, and indemnification of their losses out of the estates of Laud and his fellow members of the High Commission and Star-chamber, voted them. But I suppose the subsequent confusions prevented their obtaining much of it. A complaint was preferred against Bishops Pierce, Montague, Owen, and Manwaring, and against several of the inferior clergymen for their zealously promoting Popish innovations, and cruelly persecuting such as opposed them: but the Commons had not leisure to prosecute them. While the parliament manifested their abhorrence of the late measures, the people could scarcely be restrained from tumultuously pulling down and destroying whatever they were told had been illegally set up. The bishops could scarcely officiate according to their late injunctions, or even walk in the streets in their robes, without being upbraided as Popish priests, &c.—Read prayers were decried as a lifeless quenching of the Spirit of God, and not suited to the times.

The moderate Brownists or Independents had still held their meetings as secretly as possible. Lathorp, having succeeded Jacob as their pastor, one of the members having had a child baptized in the episcopal church, this occasioned a dispute in the congregation, Whether it ought to be re-baptized? The greater part holding the negative, such as insisted for a re-baptism, separated themselves, and chose one Jesse for their pastor, who laid the foundation of the first Baptist congregation that I meet with in England. The rest of the congregation renewed their covenant to walk together in the ways of the Lord; and notwithstanding manifold hardships, con-

tinued remarkably stedfast. Dispirited by the rent of their congregation, Lathorp, and about thirty others, retired to New England. Canne, the author of the marginal references on the Bible, succeeded him; but, after he had preached a year or two in private houses, Laud's persecution obliged him to flee to Holland, where he was pastor to the Brownists at Amsterdam. Samuel Howe supplied his room at London. But Laud's party having excommunicated and imprisoned him, his church chose Stephen More for their pastor. Finding how things went in this parliament, they ventured to hold their meetings more publicly. The marshal of the king's bench came upon about eighty of them assembled together, and threw the most of them into prison. —Next morning, five or six of them were carried before the House of Lords, to whom they honestly declared, That they could own no other Head of the church than Christ; that no laws contrary to these of God ought to be obeyed; and they disowned the jurisdiction of the Pope and every other foreigner. Such a declaration, a few weeks or months before, would have cost them their ears: but now, the Lords dismissed them with a gentle reprimand; and three or four of them went to their meeting next Sabbath, and were not a little satisfied with their order in preaching and administering the Lord's supper.

Though the commons could not yet rectify the old *Canon Law*, which had long been an unfathomable source of oppression in the spiritual courts, they voted down the late innovations, and appointed commissioners in all counties, to demolish and remove out of churches and chapels,

all images, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, and other relics of idolatry, according to the injunctions of Edward and Elizabeth. They prohibited the imposing of the *Oath of Uniformity* upon the students of Cambridge and Oxford at their matriculation. They made it their business to cut off illegal additions from the worship, discipline, and government of the church, and to punish such as had promoted the introduction of them, contrary to the laws of the land.

The freedom which the Commons used with the bishops and their canons, awakened the attention of the whole nation. The press being now open, several pamphlets, not in the most decent language, were published against these diocesan lords and their office. Archbishop Usher applied himself to defend the Episcopal order as apostolical; but by BISHOP he meant no more than a stated president over presbyters,—which most of the Puritans were willing to admit. His half presbyterian scheme was far enough from pleasing his brethren. About a year before, Bishop Hall, directed by Laud, had published a *Defence of Hierarchical Episcopacy*, in which he attempted to prove, That it was an apostolical institution, and of perpetual obligation; that as the pious Christian fathers would not change the form of church government which they had received from the apostles, the universal practice of the primitive church is the best rule of judging concerning the apostolical practice; and that presbyterian government, having no foundation in the word of God, or in the practice of the Christian church for 1500 years, is altogether unjustifiable. As Laud, in revising it, had altered several passages, Hall could scarcely go

the length of his own book. Nevertheless, he now published a *Remonstrance* to the parliament, and soon after a defence of it in vindication of liturgies and diocesan episcopacy. His performances were answered by Messrs. Stephen Marshal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomb, and William Spurstow, in their *SMECTYMNUS*, so called from the initial letters of their name, in which they shewed, That the scripture no where restricts men to set forms of prayer; that for 300 years after Christ, there were no set forms of prayer imposed by the church; and defy the bishop to produce one genuine liturgy within that time. They shewed, that the English liturgy is extracted from Popish models, and in many places offensive to tender Christians; that bishops and presbyters are represented as the same in office in scripture; that both scripture and the ancient church allowed presbyters to ordain pastors without bishops, as Archbishop Usher, and all the English Bishops for many years after the Reformation, thought they might; and that for four hundred years after Christ, bishops had no chancellories or commissaries. They shewed manifest differences between the bishops of the third and fourth century, and the diocesans in England. They concluded, beseeching the parliament to reduce Episcopacy to its primitive simplicity, if they retained it, and that the liturgy might be reformed, if they continued it, and not at all imposed, but left to preachers' discretion, how much of it should be read, where there was sermon. Had all the other bishops been as pious and moderate as Hall, with all his high flights, matters had readily been compromised. But the

courtiers were too proud to stoop an hair-breadth to their opponents; and so, to the great satisfaction of the Papists, the contentions increased till both church and state were in flames.

The fate of the hierarchy being now in the hands of the parliament, petitions, subscribed by multitudes for, or against it, were presented to both houses. Some, as that called the *Root and Branch Petition*, subscribed by 15,000 citizens, and other inhabitants of London, craved, that the whole fabric of Episcopacy might be demolished. Another, subscribed by 1700 beneficed clergymen, only insisted for the reformation of it; in which they were joined by great multitudes in other representations. Nineteen petitions, signed in whole by about an hundred thousand, six thousand of whom were noblemen, gentry, and dignified clergy, insisted for the continuance of the establishment, as it had stood since the reformation. These different petitions furnished the Commons with a large field of elaborate debates.—Sir Henry Vane, younger, Thomas Bagshaw, and White, insisted for the total abolishment of the hierarchy. Lords Falkland and Digby, the most noted of the royalists, insisted for the continuance and reformation of it, representing the present bishops and their agents as a set of infernal oppressors, who had tried how much of the Papist they could bring in without Popery, and how much of the gospel they could destroy, without exposing themselves to punishment by the civil law. As the Papists who flocked about the court, being protected by the Queen, sometimes insulted the courts of judicature, the Commons besought his Majesty to issue forth a proclamation for executing the laws against Pa-

pists in general, and to remove them from his court; and all such as refused the oath of supremacy from the army and garrison, and to disarm their whole body, as their number was become dangerous to the nation, there being about 6000 of them in one parish of Westminster. These addresses did but provoke the Papists, the king and queen being determined to protect them as long as they could. Charles even reprimanded Goodman, a seminary priest, under sentence of death in Newgate,—which occasioned warm remonstrances from both houses of parliament.

In 1641, Wentworth, now Earl of Strafford, who had once been a most zealous asserter of the rights of the subjects, was attainted of high treason, for endeavouring to subvert the government in England and Ireland, and to introduce arbitrary power of Kings. Charles countenanced a plot to draw the army to London, and rescue him by force. This but enraged the Parliament, and made his condemnation the more harmonious. Even Falkland and Digby, who opposed his attainder, represented him as a most insupportable tyrant. His conduct, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, too strongly verified it. With great reluctance, Charles signed his sentence of death, and perhaps not till himself had hypocritically desired him to do it for the peace of the kingdom. A design of Charles's dissolving the Parliament taking air, the citizens of London declared that they would lend no money upon the Parliament's security, if their sitting were so precarious. Money being immediately needed to pay off the Scotch and English armies in the North, Charles was obliged to ratify an act, bearing, that the Parliament should neither be

dissolved nor adjourned without their own consent. Alarmed by the discovery of a Popish plot against them, and the flight of the conspirators, both Houses, bishops not excepted, entered into a solemn covenant, in the presence of Almighty God, to maintain with life, power, and estate, as far as they lawfully might, the Protestant religion, against Papists and Popish innovations—and his Majesty's person, honour and estate, and the privileges of the Parliament, and rights and liberties of the nation, and of every one concurring in this protestation, in every thing they do in prosecution of it—and by all proper methods to endeavour to bring to condign punishment all that act contrary to the contents of it—and, by all just and honourable methods, labour to preserve the union and peace between the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland—and that neither fear, hope, or any other motive, should make them relinquish this vow, promise, and protestation. This was subscribed by eighty lords, seventeen bishops, nine judges, and four hundred and thirty-eight members of the House of Commons; and it was immediately printed, and sent to all the sheriffs and justices to be taken by the whole nation, the minister reading and taking it himself, and then those of his congregation: the names of such as took or refused it, being entered in different registers, the Commons soon after voted the refusers of it unfit to bear office either in church or state. This Protestation, except what relates to the hierarchy, is materially the same with the *Solemn League*.

The Commons next attempted to exclude the bishops from their seat in Parliament, and to abo-

lish *deans, chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chanters, canons*, and their officers, and to bestow their salaries in supporting preachers for the instruction of the people. But both bills were lost in the House of Lords. Meanwhile, these peers had appointed ten earls, ten bishops, and ten barons, to examine what innovations needed to be removed. These appointed a sub-committee of bishops and divines on both sides. Several rectifications were proposed in the doctrine, worship, and discipline. Williams of Lincoln, who was chairman or moderator, presented a plan for regulating the power and conduct of bishops, but which almost nothing diminished their power. Archbishop Usher, who was then occasionally in England, offered another, bearing, that vicars and church wardens should have much the same power as Presbyterial Sessions; suffragans and their clergy should meet every month, in the manner of Presbyteries; bishops and their clergy once or twice a-year, in the manner of Synods; archbishops, bishops, and suffragans, together with duly chosen representatives of the inferior clergy, once in three years, in provincial Synods; and both meet in one national Synod when the Parliament should sit. This scheme was much the same with the Presbyterian, except that the bishops or their suffragans were constant moderators. But, when it appeared that the bishops stuck together in the Parliament against all alterations, the committee broke up without agreeing on any plan. This stiffness of the bishops provoked their opposers to rise in their demands. Meanwhile, the High Commission and Star-chamber courts being abolished, and an act passed against their future

erection, the Puritans declared, their zeal for a manifesto, which Charles said, he intended for the meeting of the German Princes, at Ratisbon, in favour of his sister Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, and her children, bearing, that he intended to do his utmost to have them restored to their electorate.

Baffled in their former attempts to reduce the power of the bishops, the Commons impeached Laud and other twelve of them, of high crimes and misdemeanors, for making and publishing the late *canons*, contrary to his Majesty's prerogative and the fundamental laws of the land, the rights of Parliament, and liberties of the subjects. They did not resign their seats as was expected, but craved time to prepare answers. As Charles intended to set off for Scotland, to complete the *pacification* with that kingdom, the *treaty* between the two nations and *act of oblivion*, excepting the Scotch bishops and four others, were ratified and confirmed. In this treaty, an endeavouring after an union and uniformity in religion and church government with the Scots, was approved by his Majesty and his Houses of Parliament: and on the *national thanksgiving* for the peace, the Scots, who had a little before been declared *rebels*, were, by order of Parliament, declared *good subjects* from all the pulpits in England.—Scarcely had he returned from Scotland, when the English bishops severely reproached him for consenting to the abolishing of Prelacy, and ratification of Presbytery in that kingdom. This, together with his consenting to the condemnation of Strafford, lay heavy on his heart. Complaints of want of sermon in churches being presented to the Commons, they appoint-

ed afternoon sermons in every church, either by the vicar, or some other chosen by the parish in his room; and that people may, at their own charge, set up lecturers to preach on Sabbaths or other days, where sermons is wanting. Forty members were appointed as a committee to provide preachers and salaries for vacant congregations, and another committee to examine complaints against scandalous clergymen, many of which had been presented. They also appointed that the Lord's day should be more carefully sanctified, and no sports be allowed on it; that all images of divine persons, or Virgin Mary, should be abolished; and *bowing* at the name of Jesus, or towards the East, or the communion table, laid aside. As Archbishop Laud, in his prison, still presumed to ordain clergymen, the lords suspended him from his office, and sequestered his jurisdiction in the hand of inferior officers, till he should clear himself from his charge. Notwithstanding all their zeal for reformation, the Commons severely punished such as petended to promote it in a tumultuous manner, or dared to preach without orders.

The Earl of Antrim and Sir Phelim O'Neal, heads of the Popish party in Ireland, having acquainted the Queen, the nuncio, and priests about her, how easily they could assume the Irish government, and assist his Majesty against the English Puritans, she and Charles, by letters, authorized them to seize the government. They immediately took arms, and bound themselves by oath to maintain the catholic religion, and bear true and faithful allegiance to the King's Majesty and his laws, and defend them with their lives and estates against all opponents. They

called themselves the *Queen's army*, and published a declaration, bearing, that they acted by his Majesty's commission under the great seal, and a letter written by himself. Having assembled to the number of twenty or thirty thousand, they judged it proper first to massacre all the Protestants in Ireland, that they might afterwards, with safety, march against the English or Scots, as his Majesty or Queen directed. Regardless of relation, neighbourhood, or humanity, they massacred about two hundred thousand of them in cold blood, and in the most barbarous forms. Notwithstanding all the pains taken to conceal and deny it, it now plainly appears from the accounts given by Burnet, Birch, and lately published papers of Clarendon, that Charles himself, as well as the Queen and nuncio, were deeply chargeable with this bloodshed, though it is probable their agents overdid their orders. The news of this massacre struck the English with the utmost consternation; and the Parliament devised methods for securing themselves and nation against the Papists, and for transporting an army to Ireland for the relief of the poor remains of their Protestant brethren. Charles insisted for sending over ten thousand forces from England; but the Commons dreading an insurrection of the Papists at home, insisted for sending the ten thousand which the Scots had generously offered. Nor were their suspicions groundless. Charles appeared extremely unwilling to act against his Popish friends. He had deprived the Parliament of their guard: he had turned out the Earl of Leicester, Lieutenant of Ireland, and Parsons, one of the most active Protestant justices in that kingdom. He intercept-

ed L.200,000 sent by the English Parliament to Ireland. He received deputations from the Irish Papists more respectfully than those from his Protestant subjects. Even during the pacification he could scarcely forbear calling the Scots *rebels*; but he had almost to be compelled to call the Irish cut-throats *such*. After he had done it, no more than *forty* copies of his declaration were allowed to be printed, and not one to be dispersed without further orders.

About eight days after his Majesty returned from Scotland, the Commons presented him with *two hundred grievances* of the nation. They charged the origination of them on the Jesuited Papists, the court bishops, the corrupt clergy, and some corrupt counsellors, who had engaged themselves in the interest of foreign powers.— They represented, that they had been carried on by oppressing the purity and power of religion, by cherishing the Arminians in the points in which they agreed with the Papists, by introducing such innovations in religion as promote a reconciliation with Popery, and by fomenting differences between him and his Parliament, and encouraging him to illegal and arbitrary methods of raising supplies. With respect to religion, they complained of the censuring of many pious, learned, and laborious ministers; the oppression of multitudes of faithful subjects by the bishops; the almost Spanish inquisitorial severity of the High Commission, assisted by his privy council; the rigour of the bishops' courts, which had driven many from the kingdom; the preferring of those to ecclesiastical honours, who were most active promoters of superstition, or virulent railers against piety and honesty; the

imposition of Popish innovations in Scotland and England, in order to effect a reconciliation with the Romish church; the favour shown to Papists; the late *canons* and conduct of the bishops in opposition to his supremacy. They represented their desire to have a Synod of the most pious and learned divines assembled, for giving advice how far it is proper to reform the church, and informed him of their care to promote learning, and provide for the support of faithful and preaching ministers; and of their intention to have the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge purged of their corruptions.

As the Lords appeared to favour the bishops, and to shift off their trial, the people renewed their supplications to the Commons, whom they reckoned the support of religion and liberty.—The mayor and aldermen of London presented a petition, craving, that, for the promoting of reformation, the bishops and Popish lords might be removed from the House of Peers. Soon after, the apprentices petitioned, that the Popish lords, and other noted persons of that religion might be taken into custody, and Prelacy rooted out. The Puritan clergy besought the Parliament speedily to rectify that which they found amiss in the church. Meanwhile, two petitions were presented in favours of Prelacy as the only government of apostolical institution, sealed with the blood of martyrs, and admirably suited to the civil government of the nation. About the time the apprentices presented their petition, some began to insult the bishops, as they went to, or returned from, the Parliament-house. They remonstrated to Charles and the Lords, that on account of danger to their persons, they absented; and pro-

tested, that nothing enacted by the Parliament during their involuntary absence, should be *valid* in law. The Lords immediately communicated their protest to the Commons, who, upon the footing of it, impeached the twelve bishops, who had signed it, of high treason, in endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws of the land, and the very being of Parliaments. The same evening they were sequestered, and ten of them sent to the Tower. Hall of Norwich, and his brother of Durham, on account of their former useful labours, were but committed to the custody of the Black Rod. Thus Williams, now Archbishop of York, and his brethren, by an act of almost pure madness, entangled themselves. Instead of prosecuting their impeachment, the Parliament voted them entirely out of the House, and took all temporal jurisdiction from persons in holy orders: and Charles, in hopes that it would satisfy the people, and prevent all further demands, reluctantly ratified their deed. As the bishops were generally hated, especially at London, the passing of this bill was attended with bonfires and illumination of windows.

Being resolved to pass no more particular acts relative to religion, Charles retired from London, and his Queen to Holland—a plain signal of his intention to break with his Parliament. After he and they had some altercation, the Scots, to his great offence and their satisfaction, offered to mediate between them. Once and again he rejected their offers, and applied to the Papists, and the not much better collegians of Oxford and Cambridge. But the Parliament professed their readiness to accept the Scots' mediation, and endeavoured to cultivate a good cor-

respondence with them. The Scotch General Assembly, by a letter, solicited the English Parliament to promote uniformity with them in church government and worship, and to extirpate Prelacy, as without that they could not hope to have *one Confession of Faith, Catechism, or Form of Worship*. The Parliament returned a kind reply, desiring that the Scots would join them, in beseeching his Majesty to call an Assembly of divines, and would send some of their own to it, for promoting the much desired uniformity. To encourage them to these things, they, with amazing harmony, abolished that form of Episcopacy which was established by the English laws. But as this act only appointed it to cease about a year after, and provided nothing in its place, it is probable that some of the English managers hoped, before that time, to obtain peace with his Majesty, and so retain Episcopacy with some modifications. And, indeed, the whole pertinents of Prelacy were never abolished till after he was reduced.

About this time an uncommon seriousness and devotion prevailed among those that lived in places to which the power of the Parliament chiefly extended. The Sabbath was sanctified with unusual strictness; the churches were crowded with attentive hearers three or four times a-day; the officers of the peace walked in the streets, and shut up all public houses; nor did any travel on roads, or walk in fields, but in case of absolute necessity. Religious exercises were so universally set up in private families, that, at certain hours, one might have traversed the streets of London, without seeing one idle person, or hearing any thing but the sound of prayers

and praises from churches and houses. The Parliament prohibited stage plays, as too often expressive of levity and wantonness, and other diversions, as not suited to their afflicted circumstances. They commanded the monthly fasts, which had been appointed about a year before, with his Majesty's consent, for bewailing the deplorable circumstances of Ireland, to be exactly observed. Morning exercises were set up in churches to pray for persons in the army, or otherwise in danger, and to administer proper exhortations. Morning lectures were set up for the benefit of members of Parliament. The laws against vice were so strictly executed, that no stews or gaming houses were to be found; nor was profane swearing, or like debauchery, to be seen or heard in the streets. The like appearances of religion prevailed in the Parliament's army, the most of their soldiers not so much fighting for pay as for religion and liberty; and they had the most noted preachers for chaplains to their regiments. Meanwhile, most of his Majesty's partisans and warriors were remarkably profligate, ready to take every sober person for a Puritan, and to plunder him on that account, by means of which not a few were induced, or forced, into the Parliament's side. Many of his preachers knew little more of their business than to rail at the Puritans and their doctrine of God's free grace.

In 1643, after a solemn fast, in which they and the nation bewailed their own and father's iniquities, the Parliament warmly requested his Majesty that the laws should be strictly executed against the Papists; and that they should be obliged to abjure the Pope's supremacy, tran-

substantiation, purgatory, and worship of images, and their children trained up in the Protestant religion; and that he would give his assent to the five acts which they had made, for suppressing innovations in God's worship; for strict observation of the Lord's day; for the abolishment of Prelacy; for the punishment of scandalous clergymen; for the restraint of pluralities of church livings with charge of souls, and non-residences of clergymen at their charges; and for calling an assembly of learned divines to advise them in settling the government and Liturgy of the church. But he was far enough from any honest compliance with such demands.

The clergy of both sides had peculiar hardships to endure from both sides. Charles's partisans had hanged up some of the Puritan clergy, if the Parliament had not threatened to make reprisals. The committee, which the Parliament appointed to purge out scandalous clergymen, was obliged to sub-divide itself, on account of the vast extent of their work. Shocking discoveries were made in the lives of not a few of the conforming clergy. Many insulted the committees and their witnesses, and threatened reprisals. Notwithstanding the ejection of multitudes for their scandals, not a few, scarcely tolerable in their practice, were allowed to retain their charges. The Parliament supplied the place of the ejected the best way they could. Two congregations were sometimes committed to one pastor, and some that were too weak were admitted to others. Meanwhile, they seized the bishops' lands, to assist them in carrying on their war with his Majesty, allowing considerable pensions to such of them as had been more decent

and less wicked. They proceeded in appointing organs and monuments of superstition and idolatry to be removed from places of public worship. Besides their monthly fasts on Wednesdays, which Charles and his friends observed on holy Fridays, they appointed several occasional fasts on account of their distressful circumstances. The war between the different parties being carried on from the press with almost as much fury as in the field, the Parliament prohibited the printing of any book, which was not licensed by such as they appointed for that work, different licensers being allotted to the different sciences to which books pertained.

Despairing of Charles's concurrence with them in calling an assembly of divines, the parliament by themselves called one, not to be an independent judicatory of Jesus Christ, but a committee for advising them in religious matters proper to be considered and established by civil authority. Having had lists of the best qualified persons in the several counties transmitted to them by knights and burgesses, they selected an hundred and twenty-one divines, to which they added ten Lords and twenty Commoners, with equal power of debating and voting. When any of these died, the parliament chose his successor. Messrs. Alexander Henderson, George Gillespy, Samuel Rutherford, and Robert Bailie, ministers, Lord Maitland, the Earl of Lowdon, and Archibald Johnston, afterward Lord Warriston, ruling elders, commissioners from the Scotch General Assembly, were, not without some reluctance, admitted as members. No more than about ninety-six of the English divines gave any proper attendance. Archbishop Usher, Bishop Brownrig,

Henry Hammond, John Hacket, George Morley, Robert Sanderson, and William Nicolson, the four last of whom after the restoration, were Bishops of Litchfield, Winchester, Lincoln, and Gloucester, never took their seats. Though the parliament had appointed Episcopalians, as well as Presbyterians and Independents, members, few of the first kind ever took their seats, and those that did, quickly withdrew, when Charles prohibited their meeting, because the members had not been chosen by the clergy, and many of them were either laymen or Puritans. They that continued in it were generally men of eminent piety, learning, and faithfulness to God and their country. Their meeting was opened July 1, with a sermon by Dr. Twisse, their prolocutor or moderator. They agreed upon a solemn vow, to be taken by every member at his admission, *That he should maintain no doctrine, but what he believed most agreeable to the word of God; and nothing in points of discipline, but what he believed to be conducive to the glory of God, and the peace and welfare of his church.* This their solemn vow or oath was read to them every Monday morning, to render it deep and fresh in their minds. After fixing the order of their procedure, they petitioned the parliament to appoint a *Solemn Fast* for divine direction in their important business; and that they would take still more effectual methods for rooting out the ignorance, profanation of the Sabbath, profane swearing, cursing, drunkenness, and uncleanness still found in the land; that they would speedily purge out ignorant and scandalous clergymen, and substitute proper ministers in their stead;—that they would exert themselves for the relief

of those ministers, whom his majesty's party retained in distressful imprisonment at Oxford. A committee of the Assembly was appointed to revise the *Thirty-nine Articles*, and render them more plain and pointed, particularly in opposition to Arminianism. But, after a review of *Fifteen Articles*, this was dropt, and it was resolved to draw up a more full *Confession of Faith*. To mark their zeal against Antinomianism, they condemned some notions of Crisp, Eaton, and Saltmarsh, and laboured, sometimes *not very circumspectly*, to confute them in their sermons and writings.

The parliament's affairs being reduced to a low ebb, they deputed the Earl of Rutland, Sir Henry Vane, and Messrs. Stephen Marshall, and Philip Nye, and three others, to negotiate with the Scotch Convention of Estates and General Assembly, for some assistance in this critical hour. The Assembly considering, That the English had befriended them in their distress; and that the Protestant religion in Britain was in danger; and that by this means their own religion might be the better secured, and an uniformity with their English brethren promoted, —earnestly advised to grant their request on proper terms. A draught of a *Solemn League* with one another, and *Covenant* with God, approved by the Scotch Assembly and Convention of Estates, being brought up to London, the parliament referred it to the Assembly of divines, where it met with no small opposition. Gataker and others refused to subscribe it, till they got that which related to Prelacy so circumscribed, as, in their view, not to exclude Archbishop Usher's scheme of primitive Episcopacy. The

Scotch divines insisted to have Prelacy abjured as sinful. But most of the English opposed this ; the Independents, Erastians, and half Episcopallians thought that the words *according to the word of God*, sufficiently protected them against the inroads of Scotch presbytery ; and the Scots thought the following words, *according to the practice of the best reformed churches*, necessarily meant their own government and discipline. When Coleman, the noted Erastian, read it to the Lords, in order to their swearing and subscribing it, he openly declared, that by abjuring *Prelacy*, they did not abjure all kinds of Episcopacy, but only that kind particularly described in this oath.

After this covenant had been sworn by both houses of parliament, the Assembly of divines, and the inhabitants of London, the parliament appointed it to be taken by the rest of the nation above eighteen years of age, and transmitted along with it an exhortation by the Assembly to take it,—and directions regulating the manner of doing it. Great numbers took it cheerfully, and with a good conscience. Others did so, because the parliament and their circumstances required it. When it was imposed upon the English in Holland, the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, and who afterward sat for a time with the Westminster Assembly, took it. Not long afterward, the parliament enacted, That none should be counsellors in burghs, or have the power of electing one, unless they took it. Ministers were required to take it at their ordination. None were to be continued in trust, civil or military, who obstinately refused it. These mandates of the parliament were not very punc-

tually executed. Richard Baxter and some other Puritan ministers much prevented the imposition of this covenant in the corners where they resided. At Oxford and many other places, it was little urged, unless upon such as were suspected, or rather well known, to favour the King's party, and not so properly as a religious vow, as an oath of obedience to the parliament. After the war, it was imposed on the royalists with much the same intent.

The committee for purging out scandalous ministers, sometimes made use of the covenant for discovering malignant clergymen,—which occasioned a report, That they were turned out for refusing it. But their immoralities and disaffection to the parliament were ordinarily, if not alway, the true causes of their sequestration. Nay, I do not know of one single person punished for his simple refusal of this covenant. Charles, by a proclamation, declared it *traitorous* and *seditious*; and prohibited all his subjects to give or take it. About the same time, he agreed to a cessation of arms with the Irish Papists, whose hands were so deeply dipt in murder. But the Scotch troops refused to adhere to it, and for several years stood their ground against these bloody cut-throats, the best way they could. He then called over, not only part of the Duke of Ormond's army, but also some thousands of these Popish murderers to assist him against his parliament. Fifteen hundred of them perished at sea. Such of them as came and served under himself, or under Montrose, his agent in Scotland, brought their savage disposition along with them, killing people in cold blood, spoiling the country, and burning what they

could not carry off. This alienated the Earls of Holland, Bedford, Clare, and Carlisle, Sir Henry Deering, and others of his best friends from him, as they saw him regardless of the welfare of his kingdom. The parliament ordered the Assembly to inform the foreign Protestants of his artifices, and of the tokens of his disregard of the Protestant religion, notwithstanding his solemn declarations of attachment to it.— Charles pursued their representation at the heels with a contrary declaration. But his manifest obstinacy in supporting the hierarchy, and dissimulation, even in receiving the sacrament from Archbishop Usher, made it little regarded. About this time died Chillingworth, who, after revolting to the Jesuits, returned to the Protestants and seemed to be an Arian or Socinian,— and also the two famous commoners, Hampden and Pym.

In 1644, Charles held a small parliament at Oxford, while the majority of the peers, and three hundred and eighty of the Commons adhered to the parliament. But their proposals were too pacific to please him. Meanwhile, 21,000 Scots having entered England for their assistance, the parliament at Westminster took heart, and resolved to proceed in their intended reformation, and to establish a new Form of discipline and government. The Earl of Manchester, with two ministers, were appointed to purge the university of Cambridge, which, though under the power of the parliament, had hitherto proved a sanctuary for their enemies. Manchester proceeded with great mildness. And, though he tendered the covenant to many, yet such as behaved peaceably were allowed to keep their places, notwith-

standing they declined taking it. About an hundred and fifty of the fellows kept their places. Most of the other two hundred had before gone off to the royal army, which was now commanded by Rupert, Prince Palatine's brother, and almost wholly composed of furious banditti. J. Cosins, Tho. Pask, B. Laney, S. Collins, E. Martin, R. Stern, W. Beale, T. Comber, R. Holdsworth, S. Ward, R. Brownrigg, who had zealously taught their students, That it was unlawful on any account to resist the king, were turned out, and L. Seaman, R. Chudworth, R. Vines, B. Whichcot, H. Palmer, T. Young, J. Arrow-smith, T. Hill, R. Minshul, W. Spurstow, and afterward J. Lightfoot, were put in their place. The vacant fellowships were filled up with men learned and pious, as fast as they could. The Assembly examined the candidates before their admission. In consequence of this change, not only learning, but sanctification of the Sabbath, and other branches of piety prevailed in the colleges.—The purgation of the scandalous clergy still continued. Near two thousand were turned out, of whom eighteen hundred were proved guilty of scandal, by the oath of habile witnesses. Unless they retired to his Majesty's quarters, the parliament allowed them a *fifth part* of their salary for the support of their wives and children, and these that laboured in their stead were allowed the other *four parts*. These were admitted by the choice of the congregations, and examination by a committee of the Assembly, consisting of twenty-two members.

Finding his forces unable to resist the united strength of the Parliament and their Scotch allies, Charles professed himself ready to hearken to

terms of accommodation. A treaty was for a time prosecuted at Uxbridge, in which there was perhaps too little sincerity on either side, and each suspected the other. Charles professed chiefly to scruple at allowing or establishing of any other form of worship or government than had been long used. To enlighten his conscience, Messrs. A. Henderson of Edinburgh, S. Marshal, and R. Vines, held a solemn conference before him, with Dr. Stewart and others of his party, concerning Episcopacy and its attendant ceremonies. Neither party appeared convinced by their opponents. But Charles, perhaps without any intention of performance, promised that he would admit of the reduction of Prelacy, almost to Archbishop Usher's plan. Before the Scots came to assist them, the Parliament would have been glad of his offer; but now they would accept of nothing less than the complete abolishment of Prelacy.

Meanwhile, the work of the Assembly proceeded but slowly, on account of the different parties in it, each of which had their supporters in Parliament. The Presbyterians were the most numerous, having the Scotch divines and London ministers for their principals, and Denzil, Hollis, W. Waller, Philip Stapleton, J. Clotworthy, B. Rudyard—Maynard, Massey, Harley, Glyn, and some others, for their chief supporters in the House of Commons. Selden, Whitlock, Lightfoot, Coleman, and some others, like the English reformers and other Erastians, believed the government and discipline of the church to depend on the will of the magistrate—and had St. John, Widdrington, Crew, Hipsley, and others, to support them in Parliament. Thomas Goodwin, Ph.

Nye, Syd. Simson, Jer. Burroughs, and W. Bridge, supported the cause of independency, allowing the magistrate little power about ecclesiastical affairs—placing the government of the church in the community of the faithful, and denying the authority and subordination of Sessions, Presbyteries, or Synods of church officers. No Anabaptists were members of the Assembly; but their number mightily increased without doors. They sent one Blunt to Holland for re-baptism to himself. Having obtained it, he returned and re-baptized Blacklock, their teacher, who re-baptized all the rest. Tombes and Cornwal, learned divines, joining them, added to their credit. Not long after, they published their *Confession of Faith*, consisting of fifty-two articles. Numbers of them appear to have been serious Christians: but they were exceedingly given to rail at ministers having stated salaries for their support, and not working with their hands. They had no sooner become very numerous, than they split into two parties of *general* and *particular*, or Arminian and Calvinist Baptists.

As the Bishops refused to ordain the candidates that were not in the King's interest, the Assembly considered how such might be ordained before they had finished their Directory. Notwithstanding the warm opposition of the Independent brethren, it was carried, that a number of ministers, in the present circumstances, might ordain ministers, till church judicatories could be got established. Ten of the members, with thirteen others, seven of whom were *aquorum*, were appointed by the Parliament for that purpose. A similar committee of twenty-one was appointed to ordain for the county of Lancashire.

The *Directory for Worship* being, with much unanimity, agreed upon by the Assembly, the Parliament, soon after, appointed the observation of it in the kingdom instead of the *Book of Common Prayer*, under the penalties mentioned in the act; and all that preached, wrote, or printed any thing against it, were subjected to a fine between five and fifty pounds Sterling. In opposition to this, Charles, by a proclamation, prohibited the use of the Directory, and required the observation of the Book of Common Prayer, under pain of being held disaffected to both church and state.

When the Assembly proceeded to form stated rules for ordination of ministers, they had hot contention with the Erastians on the one hand, and Independents on the other. For ten days, the Independents contended for the right of every congregation to ordain their own pastors. When it carried, that no single congregation, which could unite with others, ought to assume the right of ordination—Goodwin, Nye, Simson, Burroughs, Bridges, Carter, and Greenhill, entered their dissent. They no less warmly disputed, that no minister ought to be ordained, without fixing him to a particular charge. But this was got compromised, and the proposition made to run, that it is *agreeable to the word of God, and very expedient*, that those who are to be ordained ministers, should be designed to some particular charge. The Independents consented to *imposition of hands* in ordination, providing it should be attended with a declaration, that it was not intended as the conveyance of office power—The *Dirctory for Ordination* being finished, the Parliament established it for the space of a

year, to try how it would answer. After that they established it for three years longer.

When the Assembly entered upon the government of the church, both Presbyterians and Independents heartily agreed against the Erastians, that *Jesus Christ had fixed a particular form of government* in his New Testament church.—But when they proceeded to enquire, what that particular form of church government was? and, whether it was perpetually binding? the Presbyterians had hard struggling with the Independents on the one hand, and the Erastians on the other. The Erastians were content to allow Presbyterian government to be *most agreeable to the word of God*, and most proper to be settled in England; but they warmly opposed the *divine right* of it.—For fifteen days, the Independents combated the divine appointment of Presbytery, and for as many more contended for the divine right of their own form of church government. Here the primitive order of the Christian church, the scripture warrant for ruling elders, the subordination and power of the church courts, were largely disputed; and Selden and Lightfoot helped the Independents in times of need. The Presbyterians having carried their point, the Independents entered their dissent, and complained that they had been ill used, and some of their papers refused a hearing. The Erastians reserved their principal effort for the House of Commons, in which they were sure to be joined by all the Independents against the *divine right* of Presbytery. Informed of their design, the Presbyterians studied to have their whole strength in the House very early, that they might get their point carried before their opponents came

fully up. Perceiving their intent, Glyn and Whitlock spake at great length upon *divine right*, till the House was quite full, and then it was carried not, that Presbytery is *founded on* the word of God—but as it still stands, that it is *lawful* and *agreeable* to the word of God, that the church be governed by congregational, classical, and synodical Assemblies. Pierced with grief that the Erastians had carried this point against them, the Scotch Commissioners and other Presbyterians instigated the council, and afterward the ministers of London, to beseech the Commons to establish Presbyterian government, as the government of Jesus Christ. This drew the frowns of the House upon the supplicants. The Presbyterian ministers next applied to the Lords—and soon after, with the mayor and aldermen of London at their head, gave in a second petition to them. These applications occasioned a misunderstanding between the city and Parliament, which at last issued in the ruin of the Presbyterian cause.

The Assembly's lodging of the power to rebuke, suspend from sacraments, excommunicate the scandalous, and to absolve the penitent, in the hand of the Presbytery or eldership, as their's by *divine right*, occasioned a warm debate between them and the Parliament. While the Independents claimed this power for the Christian brotherhood in every congregation, and pled, that no civil sanction or penalty should attend it—Selden, Whitlock, and other Erastians, contended, that church communion ought to be left quite open, and crimes be cognizable and punishable only by the magistrate. But as pastors' want of power to restrain scandalous per-

sons from the Lord's Table, had been one of the late popular complaints, the Parliament did not think it proper to reject excommunication altogether: but to render it a mere cypher, they required the Assembly to fix what degrees of knowledge were necessary to admission to the Lord's Table? And what sorts of scandal deserved suspension or excommunication?—After no small litigation among themselves, the Assembly represented, that such as did not know and believe the being of a God; the Trinity of persons in the Godhead; the doctrine of original sin; of Christ being God-man, and our only Mediator; and that he and his benefits are applied by faith, which is the gift of God; the nature and importance of the sacraments; the immediate entrance of departed souls into heaven or hell; the resurrection of the body; and the future judgment of men—should be excluded for their ignorance or error. And that all incestuous persons, adulterers, fornicators, drunkards, profane swearers, and cursers, murderers, worshippers of images or relics, saints or angels, all that make images of divine persons, or that are at variance with their neighbours; all duellers or carriers of messages between them: profaners of the Sabbath by sports or civil labour; keepers of stews; pimps; such as marry their children with Papists; consultants of witches or fortune-tellers; assaulters of parents, or of magistrates or their officers in the legal execution of their office; and persons regularly attainted of barratry, forgery, extortion, or bribery—should be secluded as scandalous. The Parliament allowed this representation, and engrossed it into their act; but, by securing an appeal from the highest church courts, to the

Parliament, they, to the great grief of the Scotch Commissioners, and many others, effectually kept the power in their own hands. They also appointed that church courts should take no cognizance of civil rights, and that no confession or proof before the eldership be made use of before civil courts.

Not long after, the parliament suspecting that the Presbyterians intended to render the church altogether independent on the state,—enacted, That there should be liberty of appeal from every classical presbytery to the civil commissioners of the county.—They next appointed rules for the election of ruling elders, and for division of the kingdom into classical Presbyteries and provincial Synods. They appointed two elders for each minister to attend Presbyteries; two ministers, and from four to nine elders, from each Presbytery, to attend provincial Synods; and two ministers and four elders, from each Synod, to attend the National Assembly. Thus the power of government was chiefly lodged in the hand of the ruling elders. In this form, was Presbyterian government settled in 1646, for the space of a year, till it might be discerned what further alterations were necessary. It pleased no party concerned. The Episcopalians and Independents were offended that they were shut out without so much as a toleration. Such as reckoned Presbyterian government *founded* on the word of God, were offended that the power was so much reserved for the civil magistrate, especially in the exclusion of persons from the Lord's Table. When this scheme was laid before the Scotch parliament and General Assembly, they insisted for sundry amendments, That no godly

minister should be excluded from sitting as a member of Presbyteries, Synods, or Assemblies ; that the ordinary time for the meeting of the National Assembly should be fixed, allowing a power for both church and *state* to convene it upon any necessary occasion ; that congregational elderships be allowed to determine concerning scandals not expressed ; that the act for the ordination of ministers be made perpetual ; that the articles respecting the subjection of church judicatories to the parliament, the exemption of persons of high rank from church censures, and obliging of church rulers to admit persons to the Lord's Table, contrary to their conscience, be altered to general satisfaction ; and that the article respecting perpetual offices and officers in the church, the order and power of church courts, and the directions for public penance and excommunication, be fixed. The English parliament replied with some warmth, That they had done what they could, and therefore thought it strange to find themselves suspected of unwillingness to establish Presbyterian government, because they did not, in a manner inconsistent with the laws of their land, establish near ten thousand unlimited and arbitrary courts of parochial sessions in the kingdom. The Presbyterian ministers in England seconded the representations from Scotland, and refused to accept of the parliament's establishment of the church, till they should part with the key of discipline and government. Highly offended with their address, the Commons threatened them with a *premunire*, for presuming to dispute with their superiors, who had called their Assembly merely for advice, not to allow them to be judges upon any point. To embar-

ras, if not divide, the Assembly, and at least to gain time till they should see the issue of the Treaty with his Majesty, who had thrown himself into the Scotch army, they delivered to them a set of captious questions, relative to the divine right of church government and its several circumstances; and required, that the Scriptures, proving or disproving each particular, should be set down at large, and every member sign his opinion on each point. After solemn fasting and prayer for God's special direction, when men had laid such an entangling snare for their feet, the Assembly applied themselves to their task.

Before this establishment of Presbyterian government, the Independents had hoped for one to comprehend them. But finding themselves disappointed, they would no more listen to any proposals of comprehension with the Presbyterians; but pled for such an authoritative toleration as should allow them to set up by themselves, and gather churches of all such as, in the Presbyterian parishes, chose to join with them. And this they required, not only for themselves, but for the sober Anabaptists, and all such others as held the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, though they did not seem capable to point out these principles in a precise manner.—The Presbyterians, who already found what multitudes of sectaries had started up during the few preceding years broken state of the church, and what trouble the Assembly had got with a few of them, represented to them the danger, schism, and confusion, that would be occasioned by this toleration which they requested,—and offered to allow them to abstain from communion with them in the Lord's Supper without being

censurable. The Independents replied, That they did not intend any total separation from the church, while they held the most of these things which the Presbyterians did, in worshiping according to the *Directory*,—in retaining the same church officers, and requiring the same qualifications, in order to admission to the sacraments, and using the very same censures; that they would hold occasional communion with them in the Lord's Supper, and in like manner admit Presbyterians with them; that their ministers should sometimes preach for one another, and they would call Presbyterian ministers to attend as companions at their ordinations; that they will consent to have their congregations restricted to a certain number, which may be receptacles for tender consciences. The Presbyterians insisted on the obvious mischiefs of tolerations; and that if their Independent brethren could hold occasional communion with them in sealing ordinances, it would be schismatical in them to separate.—As the Presbyterians insisted for close conjunction and uniformity, and the Independents rather extended their terms of toleration, the committee of Lords and Commons, and Assembly of Divines, broke up without effecting any accommodation between them. Meanwhile, the Scotch parliament transmitted to the English one a declaration against the toleration of sectaries. Many pamphlets were published, and sermons preached, particularly before the parliament, on this point. In a letter to the Assembly, the London ministers beseech them to oppose such a lawless toleration, as would strangle their church establishment in its very birth. A smart answer to it openly pled for the

toleration of ALL opinions; and that no man is answerable to civil magistrates for his opinions, any farther than they interfere with the state. It is certain the Presbyterians' opposition to the toleration lost them the favour of many, especially of the army. But when one considers the spawn of errors and blasphemies, and the almost unnumbered forms of sectaries, which then appeared in England, he will the less wonder at their dislike of the desired toleration. During these contentions, Charles offered T. Goodwin and P. Nye large terms of liberty, if they would oppose the Presbyterian government; but they informed their Presbyterian brethren, and so Charles dropped all correspondence with them.

The Parliament's ordinance for introduction of Presbyterial classes never took effect but in London and Lancashire. In other places, the ministers had voluntary associations, but without legal jurisdiction. While both Scotch and English Presbyterians insisted that the Parliament would complete their settlement of the desired uniformity engaged to in the solemn league, and declare such as were disaffected to church and state incapable of places of power and trust, the Parliament gave them fair words, and pretended that the delay of the Assembly's answers to their late questions hindered it, and nothing else.—Meanwhile, the Independents and the Sectarians in the army boldly pled for a toleration, and got a number of the citizens of London to supplicate the Parliament in their favour. It is probable that the royalists, in order to ruin the Parliament, helped forward these divisions. After the Erastians had not a little harassed the Assembly on the divine right of the several pertinents

of Presbyterian government, Coleman died, and all the rest, except Lightfoot, slipt off, and left the Presbyterians and some few Independents to manage matters as they pleased. At last the Assembly finished their answers to the Parliament's questions; but, for fear of a *premunire*, they never presented them. The London divines therefore took up the controversy, and published their learned view of the *divine right of church government*.

The Parliament still continued to treat with his Majesty. But his concluding a peace with the Irish Papists, who had but lately massacred some hundred thousands of his Protestant subjects, and his passing an *act of oblivion* of all that they had done, in the course of their rebellion, and his flight into the Scotch army, made them to suspect him; and as he fell in his demands, they rose in theirs; and both seemed rather intent on outwitting, than on amicably treating with one another. When he fled from Oxford, as it was on the point of being blocked up by Fairfax, the Parliament's general, he, with two or three attendants, came within ten miles of London. Finding it unsafe to enter the city, he first directed his course towards the sea, as if he had intended to leave the country, and then turning northward, he, to their astonishment, threw himself into the Scotch army at Newcastle, without previously acquainting them. On his first arrival, he seemed disposed toward peace with his Parliament; and on May 18, 1646, wrote them to that effect, and assured them that he had recalled all commissions granted by him for making war on his subjects, and had ordered the disbanding of all his forces; and that he cordi-

ally intended to join with his Parliament in establishing religion according to the advice of his English and Scotch Parliaments. But some Episcopalian bigots getting access to him, he changed his mind. The Scotch army and their Committee of Estates at Edinburgh, beseeching him to satisfy his English Parliament concerning religion, as without his doing it, they could not, according to their conscience or covenant, protect him against them; and indeed they could not have attempted to do it, without ruining their own country—Charles professed his willingness to confer with any whom they should appoint, concerning the lawfulness of abolishing Prelacy, and establishing Presbytery, contrary to his coronation oath. Mr. A. Henderson was brought from Edinburgh for that purpose. But Charles had been so intoxicated with the divine right of Prelacy, the superlative excellence of the *Book of Common Prayer*, the uninterrupted succession of bishops from the apostles, the right of the ancient Christian doctors to be judges in controversies, and the standard of interpreting Scripture; Princes' sole right to reform any thing in religion, and the unlawfulness of subjects, on any account, taking arms against their King, that Mr. Henderson's nervous reasoning had no effect upon him. His pretences of regard to his coronation oath, after he had spent the first fifteen years of his reign in a perpetual violation of it, marked him determined to receive no conviction.

While the Parliament having, by new acts, rooted up the foundations of Prelacy; declared it for ever abolished; appointed the bishops' lands and privileges to be sold for defraying the

expenses of the war, and supporting preaching clergymen—they insisted with Charles, as the condition of peace, that he would ratify their deeds for the reformation of religion. Notwithstanding the most importunate entreaties of his trusty and sensible friends, he still refused, and insisted, that at least bishops should be retained in his quarters, the dioceses of Oxford, Winchester, Bath, Wells, and Exeter. He insisted with the Scotch army to protect him. But, as neither their church nor state would hear of his coming to Scotland on his own terms, and they could not retain him in England without an immediate war with the Parliament's forces, they surrendered him up to the English Parliament, without either asking or receiving a single farthing on that account.

In 1647, the English Lords and many others, intended, whenever the Scots marched home, to dispatch a considerable body of their own troops to act against the Papists and their royal confederates in Ireland, and to retain at home no more than were necessary for the peace of the country, and to have these commanded by persons well affected to their covenanted reformation, by which means they hoped to treat with more advantage with his Majesty. The Scotch army, who, on this consideration, hastened their departure, were scarcely at home, when the English Parliament made an ordinance for the suppression of heresy and schism, and appointed a solemn fast for bewailing their increase. They enacted, that no member of the House, nor any who did not take the covenant, should command in the army or in garrisons, nor any drunkard, swearer, or otherwise scandalous person; and

that ten thousand and six hundred foot forces should be sent to Ireland, and five thousand three hundred horse; and the soldiers in garrisons be retained at home, and all the rest disbanded on the 2d of June ensuing. In consequence of these things, Charles sent them more satisfactory answers to their propositions.

Notwithstanding the above acts of Parliament, the sectaries more and more increased. In the army there were still many sober and serious: but things were hastening into a chaos of confusion in religion. The officers became fiery disputants, and often supplied the place of ministers to the regiments, and officiated in the pulpits where they were quartered. Thomas Edwards, a zealous Presbyterian, in his *Gangrene of Heresies*, reckoned up sixteen different bodies of sectaries, and a multitude of rampant errors. But he is too keen to deserve entire credit. And indeed, such was the disorder and licentiousness in religion, that it was scarcely possible to reduce them to either sects or opinions. We hear of *Enthusiasts*, *Ranters*, *Seekers*, &c. &c. many of which died in their infancy, or joined with these afterward called *Quakers*. It is said, that about an hundred Popish clergy were sent from abroad, to join the different parties, in order to increase and inflame the confusions.

Meanwhile, the *Confession of Faith*, which the Scotch divines had insisted for, instead of the *Thirty-nine Articles*, was finished, not without dissents relative to the *imputation of Christ's active obedience, church government and discipline, liberty of conscience*—and, along with the Scripture proofs, transmitted to the Parliament in May 1647, and, after about thirteen months, and

many long debates, the most part of it was approved by both Houses. The 30th chapter, which relates to church censures; that part of the 31st, which relates to the calling and power of Synods; great part of the 24th, concerning marriage and divorce; and that part of the 20th, concerning the punishment of such as vent opinions destructive to the peace of the church, were referred to further consideration, and at last laid aside. After the *Confession* and *Catechisms* were finished, the Scotch Commissioners went home, and the remaining part of the Assembly did almost nothing but examine candidates for the ministry, and dispute concerning the divine right of Presbyterian government. After sitting five years, and almost seven months, and holding 1163 sederunts, they entirely dissolved February 22, 1649.

For some time before their dissolution, the management of ecclesiastical matters was in the hands of the provincial Synod of London, which met at Zion College twice every week in 1648, and all the twelve following years, when they could. At the end of every six months, the members were changed, and the Synod renewed. The first having little opportunity of sitting, did little besides agreeing upon some rules of order. The second published a solemn *testimony* against the errors of the times, in which they declare their adherence to the Confession of Faith, and their abhorrence of the following tenets, that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are not of divine authority, nor the only rule of faith; that God hath a bodily shape, and is the principal author of sin; that there is no Trinity of persons in the Godhead; that Christ

is inferior to the Father, and the Holy Ghost but a Ministering Spirit; that God hath equally elected all men to everlasting life; that no man eternally perisheth for Adam's first sin; that Christ died for all mankind, and the benefit of his death is intended by God for all; that every man hath a free will and power in himself to repent, obey the gospel, and do every thing necessary for his eternal salvation; that faith is not a supernatural grace; that faithful actions are the only ground of our justification before God; that the moral law is not a rule of life to believers; that believers are as pure from sin as Christ, and so need not pray for the pardon of it; that God seeth no sin in his people, nor chastiseth them for it; that there ought to be no churches, sacraments, or Sabbaths; that baptism ought not to be continued among Christians, nor the infants of believers baptized; that forswearing of one's self is the whole meaning of the third commandment; that brethren and sisters may lawfully marry together, and divorces be founded upon indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of tempers; that human souls are mortal; and there is neither heaven nor hell till the day of judgment. They testify against the authoritative toleration of all religions, as the occasion and source of errors, heresies, and blasphemies. They declare their adherence to the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and to the *divine right* of Presbytery; and their dislike of Prelacy, Erastianism, Independency, Brownism, and their abhorrence of Antiscripturism, Popery, Arminianism, Arianism, Socinianism, Antinomianism, Anabaptism, Libertinism, and Schism.—This testimony was subscribed by fifty-eight of the principal clergy in London, and afterwards

by sixty-four in Gloucestershire, eighty-four in Lancashire, eighty-three in Devonshire, and seventy-one in Somersetshire.

This year the army, mad for a toleration of all, or almost all, pretences to religion, assumed a superiority over the Parliament, and turned out some of the Presbyterian members. Charles at once treated with the English Parliament, now governed by the army, and with the discontented Scots, that were forming an *engagement*, and raising an army to rescue him. He altered his condescensions, as his circumstances changed, and probably intended merely to amuse his subjects with treaties relative to religion, which he never meant to fulfil. Notwithstanding refusal of submission, and the most scurrilous abuse from the heads and students of Oxford, the Parliament's commissioners visited that university, which, for some years before, had rather been a garrison than a place of learning. It is hard to say, whether the patience of the Parliament, or the insolence of the university was most remarkable, during the two years in which this affair was in agitation. Besides others, nineteen or twenty masters were turned out, and Edward Reynolds, Wilkins, Wilkinson, Palmer, Sethward, Wallis, L. Moulin, and others, were put in their place. Holidays and stage-plays being prohibited by the Parliament, multitudes in some places were highly provoked, and abused such as dared to work on these holy, or rather reveling, seasons. But they had no reason, as, in place of them, the Parliament allowed servants the first Tuesday of every month for recreation and visiting of friends.

In consequence of a treaty with his Majesty, Duke Hamilton and his party of Scots invaded England with an army, to rescue him from the parliamentarians, while the English royalists took arms for the same purpose. Cromwel quickly routed them both. While he and his army were in the north, dealing with the Scots, the Presbyterian members resumed their seats in parliament, and became the majority. Knowing that the army were bent for a commonwealth in the state, and an authoritative toleration to attend any religious establishment in the church, they, instigated by the more zealous clergymen, enacted, That whosoever should obstinately deny the existence or perfections of God, or his subsistence in three persons equal in power and glory; or the reality of Christ's manhood, or his satisfaction to God's justice for sinful men; or the divine authority of the scriptures; or the resurrection of the dead; or the future judgment, shall be punished with death: That whosoever should obstinately maintain, That all men shall be saved; or that men can turn themselves to God; or that God may be worshipped by images; or, that the souls of men either die with their bodies or sleep till the resurrection; or that there is a purgatory; or that the revelations and workings of God's Spirit are a rule of faith or practice, even when different from, or contrary to scripture; or that men are bound to believe no more in religion, than they can comprehend; or that the moral law is no rule of life to believers; or that believers need not repent of their sin or pray for its pardon; or that baptism and the Lord's Supper are not appointed in scripture to be continued in the church; or that the baptism of infants is un-

lawful; or that the strict observation of the Lord's day is not agreeable to the word of God; or that public and family prayers, and teaching of children to pray, are unlawful; or that the present English form of magistracy by King and Parliament is unlawful; or that all use of war-like arms is unlawful,—shall be obliged publicly to recant their error in the congregations in which they had spread it; and, in case of refusal, be imprisoned till they find security, that they will never more maintain and publish any such error. They also made a new ordinance, in which all their former acts relative to Presbyterian government and discipline were collected and ratified as the *standing laws* of the kingdom. But no penalty was denounced against such as should not submit. The parliament also laboured to accommodate matters with his Majesty, who had slipped off to Newport in the Isle of Wight, and were extremely fond to have the treaty concluded before their army returned from the North. But, notwithstanding all that their learned doctors could say to persuade him that Prelacy had no divine warrant, and that he might consent to the abolishment of it, and to the use of the *Directory for Worship*, without hurting his conscience, or violating his coronation oath, he, instigated by his bigotted Episcopalians, would make no concessions but what were extorted from him. At last he, in this manner, consented, that all the hierarchy, except the bishops, should be abolished; that they should not act but in concert with presbyters; that Presbyterian government should continue three years; that after that no Episcopal authority shall be exercised, but by authority of parliament; that, if in that time he be convinced, that

Prelacy is not agreeable to the word of God, he will utterly abolish it. He soon after added, that for three years he would make no new bishops, and would use some other form of divine service than the Book of Common Prayer in his chapel, and prohibit the saying of mass in the Queen's. The Commons voted these concessions unsatisfactory, but in a few days voted otherwise. The parliament's commissioners did what they could to bring him a little further, and to persuade him that no Prelacy was abolished but what had been set up by human laws; that there was no difficulty in the reversion of the church lands to the crown; and that the Assembly's *Directory* pointed out the matter of public prayers, though not the express words. But notwithstanding all that they and the Scotch commissioners from both church and state could do, he would promise no more than to reduce Episcopacy to Archbishop Usher's plan, and to license the *Shorter Catechism*.

Part of the army returning from the North, and finding that no toleration of dissenters from the established religion was secured, by the negotiations between Charles and his parliament, they were enraged at both. They concluded, that if he could obtain the use of the *Service Book* in his own chapel, Independents and Sectaries need expect no liberty of conscience at all; and so they had been fighting to set up Presbytery, and get themselves banished the country, or driven into corners. In these views, they, after a solemn fast of several days, resolved to assume the government of the nation, cut off the king's head, and erect a Commonwealth. On Nov. 20, 1648, they presented a petition to the parliament, setting forth the miscarriage of Char-

les' government, and his dilatory and double dealing in treaties; and required, That he and other delinquents be brought to justice for their conduct; that the Prince of Wales and Duke of York surrender themselves, and be declared incapable of government; that, for the future, no king be admitted, but by the free election of the people.

Shocked with these demands, the Commons shifted the consideration of them for ten days, till the treaty with his Majesty was quite broken off. But the army detached a party to Newport, who, on the very next day, seized his person, and brought him to Windsor. Entering London, they apprehended forty of the leading Commons, and refused entrance to an hundred more. None were left but about one hundred and fifty, or two hundred, most of them officers of the army, who carried every thing by direction from the council of military officers at St. Alban's. They made an ordinance, and erected a *Justiciary Court* for the trial of his Majesty, as a traitor to his country. Because the Lords rejected their ordinance, they no more acknowledged them. None but Hugh Peters and John Goodwin of the Independent clergy had any hand in promoting his death. The bigotted Episcopalians encouraged him in that obstinacy which occasioned it.—Some Episcopalians, as well as Presbyterians, were members of the House of Commons, when the ordinance was made for his trial. But I know not whether any of them concurred in it. The Papists are said to have mightily promoted it, in order to throw the nation into confusion, and afford opportunity of introducing Popery under the Popishly educated princes, or otherwise. But the

most furious managers of the tragedy were Sectarians, Independents, Anabaptists, and Hobbists. They solicited the Presbyterian ministers of London to side with the army, or else be silent. Instead of this, forty-seven of them published a *Monitory Address* to the general and council of war, representing to them their perjury and wickedness in invading the rights of parliament, and seizing the king. As the Prelatic divines, to avert men's eyes from their own folly and guilt, reproached the Presbyterians as the cause of his Majesty's distress, the most of those who had subscribed this address, with nineteen others, published a vindication of their own conduct, and a warning to all the subjects to avoid every thing tending towards the toleration of heresy or blasphemy,—or to divide the kingdoms of England and Scotland,—and calling them to bewail the sins which had thus reduced the nation, and to cry to God for his Majesty's deliverance. Nineteen clergymen about Oxford, mostly Presbyterians, but some Independents, addressed General Fairfax and his council of war, beseeching them to lay aside all thoughts against his Majesty's life, and to endeavour to promote a right understanding between him and his parliament; and protesting, that they shall be free of their sovereign's death, and of all the miseries that shall follow on it. The Scots, by *remonstrances* from both church and state, did what they could to save him. But nothing could stop the wild career of the furious officers, till they had condemned and beheaded him, Jan. 30, 1649.

Charles was sober, temperate, and chaste; a kind husband, parent, and master. But his encouraging of sports on Sabbath, marks him no

tender Christian. His favour to, and employment of Papists, while he hated and distressed his Puritan subjects, and his now well known hand in the Irish massacre, are but poor evidences of his being a sincere Protestant. In his treaties with his parliament, want of candour and fidelity appears every where. In politics, his whole government was one continued series of blunders.—Nothing more exalted his character than the publishing of the EIKON BASILIKE in his name, which represented him as extremely pious and devout, amidst his manifold troubles. It was printed soon after his death, and had more than fifty editions. But it was at last discovered that Dr. Gauden had wrote the whole of it, except the 16th and 24th chapters, which were written by Dr. Duppa. Since the restoration of his son in 1660, the 30th of January hath been, by law, observed in commemoration of his martyrdom, on which many thousand falsehoods and fulsome flatteries are yearly retailed from Episcopalian pulpits, in the name of the Lord.

CHAPTER IX.

Under Cromwel there was little of a particular establishment of any Protestant party ; but not a little of Christian sobriety—He zealously supported Protestants of Savoy, &c.—Monk having got Charles II. enthroned, Prelacy was restored ; after some amusement with royal declarations and attempts toward a comprehension, Presbyterians and all other Protestant dissenters were terribly persecuted ; but Papists kindly protected—After Charles's death, King James having flattered the Episcopalians a little, laboured, by means of an universal toleration, to introduce Popery—Many English divines publish tracts against it—By his haste to establish it, James occasioned his own expulsion from the throne.

A COMMONWEALTH being erected, Cromwel and the army quickly, and with so small severity, reduced the Papists in Ireland. About an hundred thousand of them fled into France, and the rest were pent up in corners, in which they could scarcely find subsistence. Episcopacy was reduced ; the university of Dublin was purged, and

religion and learning flourished in it. The parliament having formed an engagement or oath of allegiance to the commonwealth, few Episcopalians scrupled at it. Many of the Presbyterian clergy refused it, and left their parishes, which were filled up with Independents, who mightily relished the new form of government. For the sake of peace, the parliament continued the establishment of Presbyterian government, and of the *Directory for Worship*, but abolished all penalties on account of differences in religion. The Presbyterian ministers, at their monthly fasts, being apt to throw out reflections against the new government and managers of it, the parliament abolished these meetings, and prohibited clergymen's meddling with politics. They also prohibited the publication or dispersion of seditious pamphlets. While the parliament provided ministers and schoolmasters for Wales, the Presbyterian and Independent clergy laboured so incessantly in the instruction of their people, that sobriety prevailed almost every where in the kingdom. Amidst all the absurd fancies which prevailed in the army, such was their strictness, that, when one of their quarter-masters was convicted of blasphemy, he had his tongue bored with a hot iron, his sword broken over his head, and was expelled from the troops, by order of the council of the army. The Papists were banished twenty miles from London, and excepted in the parliament's acts of indulgence and toleration. Though no penal laws were in force against the other parties, yet every one was required to attend some place of meeting on the Lord's day, and on days of fasting and thanksgiving, unless they had some reasonable excuse. Several ordinances were

made to restrain uncleanness, profane swearing, public blasphemy, or the encouragement of people to vice.—And for promoting the sanctification of the Sabbath, they appointed, that every thing *cried or put to sale* on it, or on days of humiliation and thanksgiving, should be seized. They appointed part of the money procured by the sale of bishops' lands for the support of such bishops, deans, and other Episcopalian clergy as stood in need of it. They appointed justices of peace to marry people instead of ministers, and the banns to be proclaimed on three market days, not on the Sabbath.

Professing regard to their *covenant*, the Scots had admitted Charles II. as his father's successor to their crown. But, by defeating his forces at Dunbar and Worcester, Cromwel quite ruined their affairs. Mr. Gibbons, a gentleman, and Christopher Love, a noted Presbyterian minister at London, and some other Presbyterians, having manifested some inclination towards the Scottish king, the two first were executed as traitors to the commonwealth. It doth not appear that Mr. Love had any active hand, but only had forborn to accuse his friends; his death appeared to draw down the curse of God and hatred of men on the new government.

The managers finding it necessary to have a kind of sovereign, Cromwel, by his own instigation, was chosen to be their PROTECTOR, while he pretended his great unwillingness to accept of the charge.—The *Instrument of Government*, by which he obliged himself to govern the kingdom, declared, That the Christian religion contained in the scriptures should be held forth and recommended as the public profession of these nations;

that none should be obliged by penalties to conform to the public religion ; that all such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, however much they differ from the public profession, shall be protected in their religious exercises, except Papists, Prelatists, and such as, under profession of Christianity, practise or encourage licentiousness. —Cromwel did what he could to make all the different parties befriend him. As the Presbyterians had a shadow of establishment on their side, it was agreed, That no alteration should be made, unless in laying aside all penalties of non-conformity. Such bishops or other Episcopalians as behaved peaceably, were not pressed with the *Engagement*.

Much about the time that the London ministers published their *Divine Right of the Gospel Ministry*, as a mean of restraining the disorderly preaching of laymen, Archbishop Usher, J. Owen, T. Goodwin, Stephen Marshal, Ph. Nye, Sh. Simson, together with Messrs Vines, Mantou, Jacomb, Chenel, and Reyner, were, in 1654, appointed to fix the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, according to which the toleration might be limited. R. Baxter, who was put in the room of Archbishop Usher, who declined the task, insisted for no more than an adherence to the *Creed*, *Lord's Prayer*, and *Ten Commandments*. But the rest agreed upon sixteen articles, That the scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the standard of men's faith and practice ; that there is one God in three persons ; that Jesus Christ is God and man in one person, and the only Mediator between God and men, without the knowledge of whom there can be no salvation ; that he made satisfaction for

our sin, died, rose again, ascended to heaven, and for ever continues a person, distinct from angels and men ; that all men are by nature dead in trespasses and sins, and must be born again, repent, and believe, in order to eternal salvation ; that we are saved by the grace of God and faith in Christ, not by our works ; that continuance in any known sin is damnable ; that God must be worshipped according to his own will ; that such as despise the duties of God's worship cannot be saved ; that, at the last day, the dead shall be raised, the world judged, and some depart into everlasting punishment, and others into life eternal. By these articles, Deists, Socinians, Arians, Papists, Quakers, and Antinomians are excluded from the benefit of the toleration. But, as Cromwel and his council were for protecting every one that lived peaceably, no use was made of this draught.

Not choosing that Presbyterial classes should have the power of admitting clergymen chiefly in their hand, Cromwel and his council appointed a committee of twenty-nine of the most eminent ministers in England, partly Presbyterians, partly Independents, three Anabaptists, and nine gentlemen, to try such as had entered the preceding year, or should afterward enter to the ministry, with respect to their gifts and graces. Five were stated a sufficient *quorum* to approve a man, and nine to reject him. As most of the members of this committee resided at London, such as could not come thither were tried by a sub-committee. No candidate was admitted to trial, unless he produced a certificate signed by three persons of known integrity, attesting, upon their own knowledge, that he was of a holy

and good conversation. Finding that some sequestered Episcopalians stood the trial, and were admitted back to their charges, Cromwel and his council appointed that none such should be admitted, till they were satisfied of their submission to the present government. Such as were rejected, and their friends, exclaimed terribly against the TRIERS' proceedings. But Baxter, who was far enough from loving the chief men among them, says, they did much good to the church, saved many congregations from drunken, ignorant, and ungodly teachers, and admitted such as were learned, godly, and serious, be of what tolerable opinion they would; only they too much favoured the Independents, and were too apt to reject Episcopalians and Arminians. If the candidate's learning, orthodoxy, piety, and peaceableness were manifestly certain, as in the case of Fuller the historian, they made little inquiry into his gracious experiences. But when they knew him to be malignant, immoral, a Pelagian or Socinian, they, by examination of his experiences and the like, laboured to have him rejected.

As, notwithstanding all former purgations, there still remained not a few scandalous or negligent pastors and teachers, Cromwel and his council appointed for every county a committee of laymen with ten or more ministers to purge them out, and allow them a fifth part of their salary for the support of their families. In 1649 an ordinance had been made for the purgation and proper settlement of the churches in Wales. But though they had got a hundred and fifty ministers, who laboured to their utmost, they were not nearly supplied. Some itinerant preach-

ers were therefore appointed to labour among them for the present. Some of the lesser congregations were joined together, and others of the largest sort were divided. New committees were appointed to visit the universities of Cambridge and Oxford. These, as well as the heads of the colleges, faithfully executed their offices, in consequence of which sobriety and godliness remarkably prevailed in these seminaries of learning. Stillingfleet, Pearson, Patrick, Lowth, and others of the greatest men that ever appeared in the English church, were bred up under these Puritan doctors; and nothing but horrid impiety and tyranny felt the exclusion of the royal bigots. Meanwhile the Presbyterian Synod of London, finding it impossible to establish their discipline among the English, and awakened by the spread of two Catechisms published by Biddle, a Socinian, bestirred themselves to promote the religious education of youth, and published exhortations and directions for ministers and heads of families in their catechizing work. Animated by their example, the associated ministers in several counties published similar exhortations.

As the royalists had threatened Cromwel with an assassination, and had published most dangerous libels against the present government, he, by a proclamation, ordered, that no ejected Episcopalians should be chaplains or schoolmasters, or preach, or teach to any but their own families, under pain of prosecution. But he more secretly intimated, that those who, since their sequestration, had or should give proper evidence of their godliness and affection to the present government, should be used as kindly as could consist

with the safety of the state. About the same time he threatened the Papists, not so much for their religion, as because he found them enemies to his government. The Protestants of Savoy and Piedmont being terribly persecuted, he, by application to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, the States of Holland, and the Reformed churches in Germany and France, procured them large contributions. In England alone, £37,079 were collected. He dispatched Moreland, his envoy, to the Duke of Savoy, to intimate to him, that he intended to exert himself to his uttermost for the deliverance of his persecuted Protestant brethren. He wrote to Lewis XIV. and to Cardinal Mazarine, his minister, to the same effect. Unwilling to have Cromwel and his troops so near him, Mazarine pressed the court of Turin to give the Protestants satisfaction. To strike terror into the Pope, and other Italian Princes, he gave out, that as he understood they had encouraged the persecution, he intended that his fleet should visit their coasts, and cause the sound of his cannons to be heard at Rome. He publicly declared, that he would allow no Protestants to be any where insulted, and procured indulgence to those of Bohemia and France.—*How disgraceful to the Protestant powers, that they have ever since so little copied his example!* Whether he had any hand in founding the charitable fund for the support of ministers' widows and children, which took place about this time, I know not.

The indulgence of so many forms of religion in England, drew the famous Manasseh Ben Israel, and other rabbies of the Jewish nation thither, to solicit a freedom of their religion and

traffic. As Cromwel thought they might, by the pure preaching of the Gospel, be converted to Christ, and might push the English into trade, he inclined to grant them their request. But, in order to do it peaceably, he convened a council of lawyers, merchants, and divines, to consider whether it would consist with the laws of the land, the advantage of trade, and rules of the Gospel? Some were altogether against their admission, lest they should seduce people to their religion or customs of marriage and divorce; or their fraud hurt the trade of the subjects: Others thought they might be admitted, providing they should speak or write nothing against the honour of Christ or his religion; should hold no judicatory civil or ecclesiastical; should use no Christian servants; should bear no public office or trust; should discourage none from using means of conviction of the truth of the Christian religion; and that, if any should apostatize to Judaism, they should be severely punished. The opinions of these advisers being so different, the affair was dropped.

In 1656, the Quakers had become considerably troublesome and insolent, even to Cromwel himself, which drew upon them some severities. The Papists had an oath imposed upon them, abjuring the Pope's supremacy, transubstantiation, purgatory, worship of images and relics—the merit of human works—the Pope's power to excommunicate or depose magistrates, or give allowance to murder them—and declaring, that they believed him to have no power at all in Britain or Ireland; and that no power derived from him or the church of Rome could absolve from this oath. Two-thirds of their estate, who re-

fused this oath, were to be seized for public use ; and all British subjects were prohibited to hear mass in the house of any foreign ambassador.

In 1657, Brian Walton, afterwards Bishop of Chester, published his famous *Polyglot Bible*, in six large volumes folio ; in the preparation and correction of which he had employed not a few of the most learned Puritans and others. Dr. Owen highly commended the work, but blamed Walton for pretending that the Hebrew points were not of divine authority, and for collecting so many *various readings* from copies of no importance. About this time also, the Royal Society began to be founded.

In 1658, the Independents, by Cromwel's permission, held an assembly at the Savoy, and drew up their *Confession of Faith*. It differs but little from that of Westminster, unless that the 30th and 31st chapters, relative to censures and Synods, and part of the 20th, 23d, and 24th, relative to the power of civil magistrates about religious matters, and to marriage and divorce, are left out. It hath a chapter relative to the *Gospel*, and some expressions more plainly pointed against the then rampant errors : and at the end, it hath a chapter relative to the institution of the church, and to ecclesiastical discipline. At this meeting, in which there were ministers and members from a hundred churches, though Dr. Owen, Messrs. Goodwin, Nye, Bridges, Caryl, and Greenhill were the principal managers, it is the less wonder that they formed their Confession in a few days. The difference between it and that of Westminster being so small, the modern Independents have almost laid it aside, and use that of Westminster as well as the Pres-

byterians, excepting the portions above-mentioned.

Death having, that same year, cut off the bold, and crafty, and perhaps pious Protector, the government devolved on Richard his son, a young man of a candid and peaceable temper. Fleetwood, his brother-in-law, and Desborough, who had married his aunt, and Lambert, and other discontented spirits, resumed their courage, and quickly obliged him to resign his authority. A *Commonwealth*, of a few weeks duration, ensued: but the officers finding that the Parliament intended to reduce the army, took the government into their own hands. The nation being quickly sick of these military lords, the Presbyterians and royalists agreed to bring home Charles of Scotland, who had been an exile abroad. Having invited General Monk from Scotland, he, by ways and means dishonourable enough, got to London, restored the Presbyterian members of Parliament to their seats, from which they had been excluded in 1648, and placed guards about the House, which deterred the Independents from entering. Being now almost wholly Presbyterians, the Commons ratified the vote of 1648, bearing, that Charles I.'s concessions from the Isle of Wight were a satisfactory ground of a pacification with him. They annulled the *engagement* of 1649, to be faithful to the Commonwealth, and the late oath *abjuring* Charles Stewart. In consequence of a petition from the London ministers, they approved the *Solemn League and Covenant*; they declared the *Westminster Confession of Faith* the public Confession of the church of England; but agreed that due liberty in religious matters be secured according

to the word of God. They approved as valid the ordinations of ministers according to the *Directory*, and gave Presbyterian ministers full possession of their benefices. In May 1660, they dissolved themselves, after they had, in divers forms, and with several interruptions, sat *nineteen* years, four months, and thirteen days.

Before their dissolution, they had enacted, that none who had warred against the Parliament since 1641, and had not since manifested their affection to it, should be elected members for the next; and that all candidates should declare the Parliament's war against King Charles to have been just and lawful. But now, to avoid all choice of republicans, many royalists, and persons absolutely atheistical and profane, were chosen. Meanwhile, Monk began to treat with Charles, King of Scots, and several of the Presbyterian ministers repaired to him at Breda, in Holland. His embracement of Popery beginning to make a noise, he decoyed several of the most eminent Protestant clergymen in France to give assurances of the contrary. He transmitted to London a DECLARATION, promising a general pardon of past offences, and a liberty in religion to all his subjects, if he should be restored to his throne. Infatuated by his guileful prayers, and deceitful declarations, and by the fine promises of Episcopalians, of whose perfidiousness they had had sufficient experience, the Presbyterians permitted the new Parliament to invite him home without any terms. After this Parliament had sat about eight months, they were dissolved, because the members had not been chosen by virtue of royal warants, and many of them were Presbyterians; and they had declared

the late war with his Majesty's father to have been lawful.

CHARLES had no sooner arrived at Whitehall, than, for a blind, he made Messrs. Manton, Calamy, Baxter, Bates, Reynolds, Spurstow, Ash, Case, and Woodbridge, all Presbyterians, his ordinary chaplains. But the *old* Liturgy was restored in his chapel and elsewhere—pretending that the acts of the long Parliament being in themselves null, for want of the royal assent, *Episcopacy* and the *Service Book* were still established by law. The members of Parliament quickly set the nation an example, in the taking the sacrament in the ceremonious form. Before the year ended, many parochial clergymen were prosecuted for not using the *Service Book*, the judges pretending that the laws returned with the King, and that the breaches of them could not be dispensed with. The sequestered Episcopalians flocked about the court, magnified their own sufferings as a kind of martyrdom for his Majesty's right, and, notwithstanding their most notorious scandals, were restored to their former places, and the pious, learned, and laborious Presbyterians or Independents turned out to make way for them. Within about six months, above a hundred and fifty doctors of divinity, and as many of law, physic, &c. were formed out of the self-applauding royalists. But as most of their names stand nowhere but in the registers of the university, they appear to have been generally of very little importance. A little before the restoration, a fruitless attempt had been made to fill the vacant sees, lest the Episcopal succession should be ruined; but deans and chapters being now restored to every cathedral, ten new bishops

were added to the nine survivors. Other four were soon after added. Four or five sees were kept vacant, that they might be offered as a bait to the leading divines of the Presbyterian persuasion.

In the preceding period, which hath been so much reproached as an age of horrid rebellion, the universities abounded with pious and learned teachers and students. Never did another produce so many or so remarkable ornaments to the English church. Better laws were never made in England, nor good laws ever so well executed. The dress, the language, and conversation of the people were sober and virtuous.—Scarcely one instance of bankruptcy was known in a year; nor could bankrupts ever regain their character. Drunkenness, whoredom, profane swearing, and other debaucheries, were quite out of fashion. To live as beasts, without worshipping God in secret and in families, was held infamous. Not one stage play was acted for many years in the whole kingdom. Magistrates carefully suppressed gaming and other abuses in public houses. Ministers laboured in praying, preaching, catechizing, and visiting their people, to the wasting of their strength. But no sooner had Charles ascended his throne, than debauchery and wickedness of every form, like an impetuous torrent, brake forth and overflowed all ranks in the kingdom. He set them a most brutish and infernal example. He did not believe there was any such thing as honour or virtue, but all men were guided by self interest. Atheism, profane scoffing and swearing, were his daily delight; drunkenness and whoredom his principal business. He could scarcely spare an hour from them

to mind the affairs of the state. If we may believe his own bishops and doctors, he ordinarily came from the bed of his harlots to church, or even to the Lord's Table. Two play-houses were erected in the neighbourhood of his court. Female actresses were introduced on the stage. Plays so lewd and obscene, as might have made Beelzebub to blush, were composed and acted.—Scarcely any thing was to be seen at court but feasting, hard drinking, revelling, whoredom, and profane swearing. The favoured clergymen were taken with whores almost every week, or found drunk in the streets, or even in the pulpits. All kinds of riot and debauchery prevailed among the people. Some, who had been Parliamentarians, to redeem their credit with the court and the clerical managers, threw off their former mask of religion, turned profane scoffers, and forged stories to render their old friends ridiculous. To appear serious, read the Bible, pray in secret, or in families, or to make conscience of speech or behaviour, characterized one a *fanatic*. Forbearing to extol the ceremonies, marked one a Presbyterian rebel.

Provoked with the Presbyterians for their siding themselves in the late wars, and for holding so many livings in the church, in which they laboured in winning souls to Christ, and for being capable to influence the election of members of Parliament, (and why not also, for their *mad zeal*, in bringing home Charles, that *plague of God*, to the throne ?) Clarendon and his bishops resolved to ruin them, and exclude them from all comprehension in the church, while James, Duke of York, and his Papists, inclined to have a toleration for them, that they might share in

it. Still the infatuated Presbyterians courted the favour of those managers that wished their ruin. They offered Archbishop Usher's plan of church government as a mean of accommodation, and insisted, that the *surplice*, the *crossing* in baptism, and *kneeling* at the Lord's Supper, should be left indifferent, and some corrections made upon the *Thirty-nine Articles*. In June 1660, Messrs. Calamy, Reynolds, Ashe, Baxter, Wallis, Manton, and Spurstow, introduced by the Earl of Manchester, besought his Majesty to interpose his influence for the healing of their ecclesiastical differences, hoping, as Baxter said, that he would outdo Cromwel, the usurper, in promoting religion. Charles bade them draw up their proposals relative to church government and ceremonies, as low as possible, and then he would procure them a conference with the episcopal doctors. Having finished it, they, along with their brethren in London, presented their proposals, bearing, that they agreed with their brethren in the doctrinal points of religion, and the substantial parts of divine worship; but humbly requested that none of their serious people might be reproached with abusive language; that no scandalous, negligent, or insufficient person might be admitted pastor in any congregation; that none should be confirmed by the bishops, or admitted to the Lord's Table, without a credible profession of faith and holiness; that effectual care should be taken for the public and private sanctification of the Lord's day; that Episcopacy be reduced to the plan proposed by Archbishop Usher in 1641; that suffragans be chosen by their respective Synods; that, in their visitations, bishops regulate their conduct by the

appointments of Parliament; that the *Book of Common Prayer* be either corrected and purged of that which is offensive, or a committee of moderate Episcopalians and Presbyterians appointed to compile a new one, as much in Scripture language as possible; and ministers not be confined to precise forms; and that crossing in baptism, kneeling at the Lord's Supper, observation of holy days of human appointment, officiating in surplices, altars in churches, bowing at the name JESUS, or towards altars, be abolished, or at least not imposed on such as scruple them.—The answer given to this representation, by the Episcopalians, occasioned a short and somewhat warm answer by the Presbyterians.

As many of the sober ministers began to be driven from their churches, on account of their not using the *Book of Common Prayer*, the chief Presbyterians besought his Majesty to suspend these executions, till the issue of their attempts for an accommodation were known; and that he would revoke the ejection of such as had only succeeded to deceased Episcopalians, and prevent the return of scandalous clergymen to their former charges. But all was to little purpose. After hearing both parties, he corrected and published his *Second Declaration*, in which he promised to reform Episcopacy, and have the Liturgy corrected; and that none should be questioned for differences in religion not tending to disturb the peace of the kingdom. Not a few of the Presbyterian clergy were pleased with this, thanked his Majesty for it, and upon the foot of it, pious Edward Reynolds accepted the bishopric of Norwich, and Dr. Manton, receiving a living in Covent Garden, submitted to Episco-

pal ordination by Sheldon, Bishop of London, and to the use of the *Service Book* in his church. Other Presbyterians, still dissatisfied, again besought his Majesty to establish Archbishop Usher's scheme of church government, which they thought was consistent with their Solemn League and Covenant; and insisted for further alterations in the *Service Book* than he appeared to have promised. They prevailed nothing. When the last mentioned *Declaration* was first read in Parliament, November 9th, both Houses agreed on an address of thanks for it; but being informed that Charles and his courtiers never intended to stand to it, the Commons refused to give it a second reading.

By this time, the long infatuated Presbyterians had their eyes opened, and plainly perceived that his Majesty's declarations were but crafty expedients to keep them quiet, till their Episcopalian enemies could bid them defiance: and they had daily more and more evidence, that they had no favour at court. If they spoke or wrote in favour of their covenant with God and one another; if they lamented the dreadful irruption of perfidy, apostacy, or vice, especially of courtiers; if they scrupled using of the surplice, *Service Book*, and ceremonies, they were prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts, and hundreds of them turned out, to make way, even for the most scandalous Episcopals who had been formerly ejected. Meanwhile, flocks of Papists came home, magnified their sufferings in the late times, and published a list of about one hundred and seventy-nine of their noblemen, knights, baronets, and other persons of rank, who had lost their lives in fighting for Charles

and his father. His mother returned from France with a crowd of Popish attendants. The priests, who had been in jail, were liberated, and others came over from the college of Douay. More Papists appeared in England than in all the twelve preceding years. In Ireland too, which, under the late troubles, had been not a little furnished with faithful, laborious, and successful ministers from England and Scotland, the Papists took possession of their old estates, and turned out the Protestant purchasers. Their priests sent over an address, congratulating his Majesty's *restoration*, and requesting the free exercise of their religion. Their address was graciously received, and they were encouraged to hope for a favourable answer. Charles's marriage with the Infanta of Portugal also contributed to the promoting of their interests.

Venner, a wine-hooper, and about fifty others of the *fifth-monarchy men*, who imagined that the *thousand years* empire of Jesus Christ's personal reign on earth was just to be erected, took arms, resolving to overturn Charles's government, or perish in the attempt. This madness, crushed in a moment, gave the court an handle for emitting a proclamation, prohibiting all Anabaptists, Quakers, and fifth-monarchy men, to meet for worship any where but in parish churches or chapels, or in their own houses. The Independents, Baptists, and Quakers, for their own vindication, published a declaration of their abhorrence of Venner's insurrection. To provoke the Presbyterians to some like outrage, the Episcopalians or Papists insulted them in the streets, and disturbed them at their family worship, by blowing of horns at their windows, or the like.

Amidst all this abuse, they maintained a quiet and inviolated loyalty, though from the press, they honestly contended for their religious principles. Stillingfleet, a very learned, and as yet mild Episcopalian, published his *Irenicum*, in which he pled, that no particular form of church government is exhibited in the New Testament, and with great strength of argument, contended, that nothing ought to be imposed in religion, but what is clearly revealed in the Scriptures; nothing required but what is plainly indifferent; nothing indifferent required, as a part of worship, but only as a mean of duly performing it; that no penalty ought to be inflicted upon persons who scruple at any thing not clearly revealed in the word of God, till they have sufficient time and means to be informed of the lawfulness of it; and that religion ought not to be clogged with ceremonies, as too many of them eat out the life and vigour of Christianity. But no reasoning was able to restrain the fury of the Episcopalians against the Presbyterians, who had so kindly brought home their King, and put them into possession of their power.

The new Parliament, formed to the taste of the court, which kept about an hundred members in pay, to vote as they pleased, sat down May 8, 1661. Besides advancing his Majesty's absolute power, they declared the Solemn League and Covenant illegal, and not binding upon such as had taken it, and ordered it to be publicly burnt by the hangman; they restored the bishops to their jurisdiction in Parliament or otherwise; they restored to the Episcopalian clergy all the power they had enjoyed under his Majesty's father, except the use of the oath *ex*

officio; they denounced a *premunire* against all such as should call his Majesty a Papist; they enacted, that all in places of power and trust should declare upon oath, that they believed it unlawful to take up arms against the King, *on any pretence* whatsoever, and give it under their hand, that they renounce the *Solemn League and Covenant* as an unlawful oath, imposed contrary to the standing laws of the kingdom; they appointed, that none should act in any civil office, who had not within a year received the Lord's Supper, according to the *Service Book*; they appointed commissioners to visit all the corporations in the kingdom, and turn out of office all such as were suspected of disrelishing the measures of the court. A sham plot against the government, fathered upon Captain Yarrington, Sparry, Mr. Baxter, and others, was trumpeted up, and reported through the nation, in order to make the penal laws against the Presbyterians and other Dissenters pass the more easily. Meanwhile, several of the French Protestant clergymen, who had persuaded the Presbyterians to receive Charles without any conditions, barefacedly congratulated the Episcopalians upon their re-establishment, and the French pastor at the Savoy conformed himself to the English ceremonies.

By virtue of his Majesty's last declaration, twelve bishops and nine assistants were appointed to meet with the Presbyterian chiefs at the Savoy, for fixing what alterations were proper for the satisfaction of tender consciences, and promoting of the good of the church. Calamy, Baxter, and their brethren, excepted against eight things in the *Book of Common Prayer*, as

plainly sinful, viz. That no minister is allowed to baptize any without using the sign of the cross ; that no minister is allowed to officiate in the public worship of God, without wearing the surplice ; that none are allowed to receive the Lord's Supper but on their knees ; that ministers are obliged to administer the Lord's Supper to unfit persons, whether in health or in sickness, and even to some who are unwilling to receive it ; that ministers are obliged, without any conditions, to absolve from scandal and guilt of sin, persons of whose repentance they have not the smallest evidence ; that they are obliged at funerals to give thanks for all baptized and uncommunicated persons deceased, as brethren, whom God hath taken to himself ; and that none are allowed to preach the gospel, who do not, under their subscription, declare, that there is nothing in the *Thirty-nine Articles, Books of Common Prayer and Ordination*, contrary to the word of God. They even presented a draft of a *New Liturgy* drawn up by Mr. Baxter, the prayers in which were mostly in the express words of scripture, which they begged ministers might be allowed to use. The bishops took it as an horrid affront to put a production of Baxter on a level with the long approved *liturgy* of their church. As the intention of the leading Episcopalians in this dispute, was not to accommodate matters, but to discover the Presbyterians' scruples, that they might so fix their terms of communion, as effectually to exclude them, they did not allow them opportunity of fair, calm, and thorough reasoning ; but by brow-beating, and by the hissing of their attendants, studied to throw them into confusion. When the conference was finished,

a convocation was called to rectify what was amiss in the Prayer Book, and to supply deficiencies. Care was taken to have it composed of such as hated the Presbyterians, or were the obedient dupes of their superiors. They added prayers for the annual celebration of the *martyrdom* of Charles I. on the 30th of January; and of his present Majesty's *restoration* on May 29th; and for persons at sea; a form of baptism for adult persons. They added some new holidays, and some new lessons out of the Apocrypha, as the stupid fable of Bel and the dragon, and so made the book still more exceptionable. They began to review the CANONS, but made no alterations.

Charles and his agents did not content themselves with prosecuting such of his father's condemnators as were still alive, but digged up the bodies of Bradshaw and Ireton, and gave them a kind of execution. They also digged up the bodies of Cromwel's mother and daughter, and of Admiral Blake, Pym, Dr. Twisse, Stephen Marshal, and fourteen others of the Parliamentarians, to put a public stigma upon them.—These were but the most harmless pieces of their cruelty. By the instigation of the court, in May 1662, the Commons, with great readiness, and the Lords, with no small reluctance, passed the *Act of Uniformity*, importing, That every minister that did not, before the feast of Bartholomew, August 24th, before his congregation, when publicly assembled for religious worship, declare his unfeigned assent and consent to every thing contained in the *Book of Common Prayer* as lately corrected, and in the *Form of ordination of bishops, priests, and deacons*, should be *ipso facto*,

deprived of all his spiritual promotions; that all ministers or teachers in colleges, schools, or families who did not before said day, declare under their hand, That it is not lawful, *upon any pretence*, to take arms against the king; and that they renounce the *Solemn League* as unlawful, and *not binding* on the takers of it; and that they will conform to the church of England, as by law established, shall be deprived of their livings, if they have any, and teachers in colleges or schools, shall, for every offence, suffer three months imprisonment; and that none wanting Episcopalian ordination shall administer the Lord's Supper, under pain of £100 for every offence; that no other form of *Common Prayer* shall be used in public worship; that none shall be admitted as lecturers, who are not approved and licensed by a bishop, and read the *Thirty-nine Articles*, and declare their *unfeigned assent and consent* to the whole of them; and, at their first lecture, and afterwards on the first lecture day of each month, before lecturing or preaching, read the *Common Prayer*, and Service. It also ratified all the laws made for uniformity of prayer, &c.

As there were not quite three months of interval between the passing and the final execution of this act, it was impossible for the *newly corrected* Book of Common Prayer to be got printed, dispersed through all the corners of England, and read and considered before the time elapsed. Nevertheless, seven thousand Episcopalian clergymen, of whom not one in forty, it is said, had seen it, believed as the church did, and from their pulpits solemnly declared their *unfeigned assent and consent* to it. Meanwhile,

the Presbyterian and Independent ministers were so squeamish, that they could not solemnly declare their *unfeigned assent and consent* to every thing they knew not; and they had unconquerable scruples at all the new terms of the established uniformity. They could not, to the reproach of the foreign churches, and of all their own former ministrations, which God had remarkably blessed, renounce their former ordination; they could not allow themselves to lie concerning the Holy Ghost, that he *now moved* them to take upon them the office of a deacon, in order to be ordained by a bishop. They could not give an *unfeigned assent and consent* to every thing in the *Service Book*; they could not believe that baptism, even of the infants of parents notoriously wicked, produced real regeneration, and gave undoubted certainty of salvation to such as died before commission of actual sin; they could not give their *assent and consent* to the use of godfathers and godmothers, to the exclusion of the real parents from being sponsors for their own children in baptism; nor to the exclusion of Christian infants from baptism for the mere want of godfathers or godmothers; they could not consent to the use of the cross in baptism, or to deny baptism to their infants, who scrupled at the use of it. Most of them thought the consideration of that crossing as a representation of the cause and effects of redemption, according to the 30th canon, was to make it a superadded sacrament; they could not consent to *kneel* at the Lord's Supper, at least to exclude from it all such as scrupled at it. They could not assent and consent, that bishops, priests, and deacons, are three distinct or-

ders by divine appointment, as the *Book of Ordination* asserted. They could not consent, with the *Funeral Service*, to pronounce all those undoubtedly saved, who had it allowed them, *viz.* all except the unbaptized, excommunicated, and self-murderers; they could not consent to read the legends of Bel and the Dragon, or of Tobit, Judith, and Baruch, and other Apocryphal lessons, to the number of a hundred and six chapters in the public worship of God, under the title and notion of holy Scripture, for two months together, to the exclusion of the word of God; they could not approve the Popish translation of the Psalter, even when contrary to the established translation of the Bible; they could not consent that none should be admitted to the Lord's Supper before they were *Confirmed*, or desired to be so. No doubt, some of them scrupled at the reading of prayers, the priests and people saying them by turns, or the vain repetitions in them. Nor was it a recommendation of the sixty-six collects, or short prayers, that forty-seven of them had been taken out of the Mass Book, and some of them made worse than even there. They could not take the oath of obedience to their superior clergy, according to the canons; nor, according to the import of that oath, swear that they were ready to declare those excommunicated, who charged the Book of Common Prayer with containing any thing contrary to the word of God,—or who affirmed that any of the *Thirty-nine Articles* cannot be subscribed with a safe conscience,—or affirmed, that the ceremonies of the Church of England cannot be approved and used with a good conscience,—or affirmed, that the government of

the Church of England by Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c. is contrary to the word of God,—or who should affirm, that the English form of consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, contains in it any thing contrary to the word of God,—or who should separate from the Church of England, or hold separated societies to be true churches;—they could not assent and consent, that all should be excommunicated, who should affirm, that a convocation called by the royal authority is not a true representation of the Church of England,—or should affirm, that absents are not bound by their decrees, when ratified by the King; and the rather, that the principal writers of the English Church are far from being agreed concerning the seat of the supreme ecclesiastical power. They could not, under oath, submit to the suspension, deprivation, or excommunication of such ministers, as, repenting of their engagements to uniformity, omitted some of the ceremonies, and kept private fasts. They could not swear to refuse the Lord's Supper to one who scrupled to receive it *kneeling*, or belonged to another congregation, whose pastor was scandalous, or did not preach; they could not swear to promote the excommunication of such as go to other parishes than their own to receive Baptism and the Lord's Supper,—or to suspend people from the Lord's Table, because they do not provide surplices for their priests,—or to baptize all children offered without exception,—or to present to the bishop or his chancellor every year, all their parishioners above the age of sixteen, who did not communicate at the preceding *Easter*, that they may be prosecuted with excommunication and imprisonment for life,

if they afterward neglect it. Moreover, they could not swear canonical obedience to their *ordinary*, as he not only means the bishop, but also his lay judges, deacons, officials, commissaries, surragates, &c. by whom church-government is separated from the pastoral office, contrary to the injunctions of Christ. Though many of them had never taken the *Solemn League and Covenant*, yet they could not renounce it as *null and void*, and *not binding* upon the takers of it, in every thing not contrary to the word of God. They thought such a renunciation wicked in itself, and calculated to tempt the King, who had repeatedly taken it, and many thousands more, to harden themselves in perjury. Besides the scruples which some of them had at the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, as then imposed, they generally scrupled,—solemnly to declare, That it was unlawful and horrid to take arms against the King, or any commissioned by him, upon *any pretence whatsoever*. For these and the like scruples, about two thousand one hundred of the most pious and diligent ministers in England were turned out from their charges, without the allowance of one farthing for the support of their families.

Never had history witnessed such an extensive exclusion of church-men, or so barbarous. At the Reformation, not above 200 of the Popish clergy were deprived by Elizabeth, and even they had an allowance granted them for their subsistence. When the long Parliament and Cromwel turned out the scandalous Episcopalian clergy, they allowed them a fifth part of their salary to maintain them, even though they were in a state of war with them as royalists.—Now,

above two thousand, who had laboured for his Majesty's restoration, and were generally most pious and diligent ministers, were forced from their charges, without the smallest allowance. Baxter, and some other leading men, quitted their churches before the time, lest false reports of their intended compliance should seduce any of their brethren.—Reynolds, Wilkins, Hopkins, and Fowler complied, and were made bishops. Some, who had dissuaded their brethren, complied themselves. No doubt the distressful circumstances to which the ejected were quickly reduced, influenced them. Some of them applied themselves to civil business, and were supported by donations from their friends. Many of them, having no freedom to alienate themselves from the public service of God, to which they had solemnly devoted themselves in ordinations and otherwise,—unable to resist the calls of the people, who begged their assistance in the salvation of their souls,—afraid of the curse of the unprofitable servant, who hid his Lord's money,—sensible of the insufficiency of those that were placed in their charges,—and convinced of the continuance of their office and mission from Christ, and of their duty to perpetuate a faithful ministry,—presumed to preach the gospel; for which, as fast as they could be apprehended, they were cast into prison, where many of them perished by hunger and cold,—their hearers sharing much the like persecution.

The condition of the English church was now exceedingly deplorable. The old clergymen were generally despised and detested, because of their scandalous behaviour. Such as had been trained up under the Puritans did some service; but

many of them had neither due age nor experience. A staunch but candid Episcopalian informs us, That about 3000 were admitted, who were unfit to take charges, because of their youth; that 1500 clergymen were scandalous, and many of them ignorant ;—and about 1350 factious ;—that of 12,000 ecclesiastical livings, 3000 were impropriated, and 4165 sinecures. After all these deductions, how little room is left for an honest and painful ministry ?

Charles and his Popish courtiers and friends were glad, how many of them were turned out from the church, as they hoped it might occasion a toleration for the Papists along with others. When the Protestant non-conformists talked of retiring to Holland or New England, the courtiers or Papists dissuaded them by hints of a toleration,—and laboured to divide them from the established clergy as much as possible. Even the conform clergy were split into two parties. The *court party*, which furiously railed against the Presbyterians and their moderate brethren,—zealous bigots for the ceremonies and for passive obedience to kings, let them be as tyrannical as they will ; but careless of the instruction or morals of their people. They, for forty years, were most numerous, and stood fair for preferment. The *country party*, to which Reynolds, Wilkins, Cudworth, Whichcot, Tillotson, and for a time Stillingfleet, belonged, were much superior in sense, and grieved at the exclusion and persecution of the Presbyterians.

Encouraged by Charles and his courtiers, and driven by persecution, the Presbyterians, through Manton, Baxter, and Calamy, besought him to devise some method of allowing them to teach

his subjects obedience to him and to God. Clarendon and Bishop Sheldon of London, who mortally hated them, opposed every degree of indulgence. Nevertheless, about four months after, when Clarendon was absent, and perhaps none but real Papists in the council, Charles declared his intentions to procure a parliamentary indulgence for his Protestant and other subjects, who could not in conscience comply with the established religion. When the parliament met, the Commons presented an address against any indulgence. So the Presbyterian ministers were left to shift for themselves. Baxter, Bates, Calamy, and some others attended as laymen on their parish churches, before, or after they had exercised their ministry in private houses. Others forbore all manner of conformity.

In 1663, Sheldon succeeded Juxon in the archbishoprick of Canterbury. The courtiers, which had procured the severity of the terms of conformity, as a mean of occasioning indulgence to the Papists, instigated the Protestant dissenters to apply for a toleration, hinting, that if they did not obtain it, they would be forced to the uniformity established. The Independents applied ; but the Presbyterians knowing that it was properly designed for the Papists, forbore, and thus drew on themselves the frowns of both courtiers and persecuted brethren. Meanwhile, some republicans having talked too freely, it was pretended, that the Independents, Baptists, and Fifth-monarchists had formed a plot against the king.—This served for a handle of reviving the act of Elizabeth condemning to banishment, and to death, in case of return, such as peremptorily refused attendance at their parish churches ;—

and further enacting, That every person, above sixteen years of age, that should be present at any dissenting meeting for the worship of God, in which above four more than the family were present, should, for the first offence, pay five pounds, or lie three months in prison,—for the second, pay ten pounds, or lie six months in prison,—and for the third, pay an hundred pounds, or suffer seven years banishment, not to return under pain of death. Married women were to lie two months in prison, unless their husbands paid two pounds for their redemption;—and the persons in whose house the meeting was held, to be liable as other offenders. Dreadful was the execution of this act among the Protestant dissenters. If they did not immediately pay their fines their goods were seized; and if these did not satisfy the law, their persons were hurried to prison. To make the matter still worse, spies and informers were placed every where, who had part of the fines for their hire. To avoid the penalty of obstinate absenting from church, many Presbyterians occasionally attended. But the Independents, Baptists, and Quakers, looking upon persecution as an undoubted mark of a false church, utterly refused their attendance. Such was the severity of the Judges, that some were afraid to pray in their families, or ask a blessing on their meals, if above four of their friends were present.

In 1665, the plague raging in London and places about, till eight or ten thousand died in a week, and about an hundred thousand were cut off, most of the Established Clergy fled, and left their people to die, and be damned, as they pleased. But Messrs. Chester, Janeway, Turner,

Grimes, Franklin, Vincent, and other persecuted ministers, at the double hazard of their lives, from the pestilence and from their persecutors, flew to the city, &c. and by preaching to multitudes, who looked for an almost immediate appearance before the tribunal of God, had remarkable success in winning of souls to Christ, and preparing them for death. Instead of calling the nation to humble themselves under the mighty hand of God, the parliament, which had fled to Oxford, took this opportunity to rain down their vengeance on the Puritan ministers, and enacted, That they should be obliged to swear, that it was unlawful to take up arms against the king, or any commissioned by him, on any account; and that they would never endeavour any alteration in the government of either Church or State. And further enacted, That if, before taking of this oath, they should come within five miles of the places in which they had been pastors, or of any city, corporation, or borough, even in travelling the road, they should be fined of £40 for every offence; and that if they refused this oath, they should be incapable of teaching a private school, or of boarding or dieting any person to be instructed. No honest man, as Southampton observed, could take this oath as it stood. But the Judges declaring, that by *commissioned* by the King, was meant *legally commissioned*; and by *not endeavouring* to alter the government, was meant *not unlawfully endeavouring* to alter it. Bates, Howe, and about forty others of the Presbyterian clergy took it, in that sense, to avoid the charge of sedition. But most of the ejected ministers refused it altogether, and were exposed to the most terrible hardships.—

Some refused them houses, unless at extravagant rents. Others were afraid to admit them into their houses, lest it should render them suspected. Some ministers boldly preached till they were cast into prison, choosing rather to perish in suffering for Christ, than to be starved. Some of them rode thirty or forty miles, and preached in the night to their flocks. Instigated by the informers, the soldiers committed terrible outrages on their families. Next year, a fire, kindled by the Papists, having burnt thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling-houses and eighty-nine churches in London, several Presbyterians and Independents ventured to set up meetings, the best way they could, for preaching the gospel.

Clarendon, having lost his credit at court, and being soon after banished, could no more wreak his malice against the Protestant Dissenters. But when Charles, in 1667, moved for a general toleration to Nonconformists, the Commons begged him to put the penal laws in execution against the Conventicles, or meetings of Protestant Dissenters for worshipping of God. Charles grew sick of the tyrannical cruelty of Sheldon and other bishops, who adhered to the maxims of Clarendon; and blamed the indolence and misbehaviour of the Established Clergy, for provoking the Puritans to absent from the church, and set up conventicles. The miseries occasioned by the Dutch war, the decay of trade, and fears occasioned by the French invasion of the Low Countries, awakened such as had any conscience or consideration.—Lord Keeper Bridgeman, Judge Hale, Bishops Reynolds and Wilkins, Doctors Burton, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and others,

thought it high time to promote the peace of the church and the union of Protestants in the nation; and devised a plan of comprehension for moderate Dissenters, and of toleration for others. Wilkins and Burton formed an overture of correction of the Books of *Common Prayer* and *Ordination*, with which Baxter, Bates, and Manton were almost pleased: and no doubt Dr. Owen and his brethren would have been glad of the three years' toleration proposed. Judge Hale prepared a Bill for the parliament answerable to their agreements: but the persecuting bishops prevented its appearance, and, contrary to his Majesty's inclination, revived the prosecutions against the Protestant Dissenters. As the reasonableness of toleration began to be warmly disputed without doors, S. Patrick, afterward Bishop of Ely, and many others, who courted preferment, laboured by their publications to render the Dissenters odious. Parker, afterward bishop of Oxford, abused them in the most false and virulent manner. Dr. Owen published a sober refutation. But Andrew Marvel's *Rehearsal Transposed*, went more to the quick. Its delicate, though keen satire, made almost every body read it. Nor do I know that it received any other reply, than by one of Parker's friends sending Andrew a letter, swearing, That if he printed it, his throat should be cut. But God's providence preserved him as an honour to the House of Commons and to his nation. The well-known Sherlock abusively ridiculed the Calvinist principles and experiences founded on them, and was answered by Polhill and Alsop. Nay, the pious behaviour, edifying sermons, and even the texts of the Puritan ministers, became a leading topic of the abusive ridicule of the stage.

King, Queen, and Court, were altogether shameless in wickedness. They went about masked, entered into houses, and committed the vilest indecencies and maddest frolics. Wilmot, afterward Earl of Rochester, and other uncommonly debauched profligates, were their principal favourites. What money the parliament bestowed upon Charles, he threw away upon his freaks and whores. Nor were the Commons niggardly of what was not theirs, but the nation's. Licentious profaneness prevailed in both Universities. The harangues of the young clergy were stuffed with encomiums on the church, and satires against the Dissenters, while the truths of the gospel and practical religion were quite out of fashion. Regardless how many thousands or millions ran headlong to hell, in ignorance or impiety, the ecclesiastical managers directed all their zeal against the Puritans. A new act was made in 1670, bearing, That every such preacher should forfeit L. 20 for the first offence, and L. 40 for the second; that whoever knowingly suffered conventicles in their houses or yards, should forfeit L. 20 for each offence; —that the fines should be levied by seizing and selling the offender's goods, and the third part of them given to the informer; that Justices of Peace might break into any place where they were informed of a conventicle, and apprehend all the persons present; —that such Justices as refused to execute this act, should forfeit L. 5 for each offence; that no defects or mistakes in the warrant for apprehending such conventiclars, should render them illegal; that all clauses in this act of parliament shall, to the utmost, be

explained in opposition to conventicles, and such as attend them. Many Justices of Peace, who had any honesty or humanity, resigned their office, rather than be concerned in executing this abominable act. Multitudes of the vilest miscreants commenced informers, and what they gained by fines almost innumerable, they spent in drunkenness and whoredom. Archbishop Sheldon sent his bishops another circular letter, worthy of the Spanish inquisition, in order to quicken their persecution of every body concerned in conventicles,—and copies of it were sent to the officers in every parish. For not bringing in Pen and Mead, Quakers, guilty of attending a conventicle in the streets of London, the members of the Jury were fined in forty marks Sterling each, and thrown into prison till they paid it,—while these Quakers themselves were fined and imprisoned.

Assisted by the Lords Clifford and Shaftsbury, the Earl of Arlington, and Dukes of Buckingham and Lauderdale, commonly called the CABAL, Charles made wide steps toward absolute power. The exchequer was shut up, that no payment of public debt could be obtained. At the instigation of Lewis XIV. of France, who pensioned the King and his courtiers with a million Sterling yearly, it was resolved to destroy the Dutch, because they were Protestants. In 1672, Charles published an *indulgence*; but it was principally in favour of the Papists, of whose increase the Commons had complained. Though the dissenters mightily disliked an *indulgence* founded on the king's arbitrary power to dispense with the laws, yet many of them took the opportunity of setting up meetings for public

worship. A weekly lecture was set up at *Pinner's Hall*, in which four leading Presbyterians and two Independents agreed to preach by turns, in defence of the doctrines of the reformation, in opposition to Popery, Socinianism, and infidelity. Baxter, Bates, Manton, Jenkins, Drs. Owen and Collins, and afterwards Alsop, Howe, Cole, &c. chiefly distinguished themselves at these meetings. In the parliament 1763, Charles, and Shaftsbury his chancellor, extolled this indulgence. But the Commons having become less tractable than their predecessors, held it as destructive to the liberties of the kingdom. None were more zealous against it than the dissenters. Alderman Love, a member from the city of London, declared, that, notwithstanding all that they had suffered for the twelve preceding years, he and all his fellow Protestant dissenters would rather want their own rightful liberties, than have them in a way destructive of the liberties of the nation, and of the Protestant cause. Charles was therefore obliged to part with his *indulgence*, and to call in the licences which he had given for meeting-houses. The Commons, perhaps affected by Love's generosity, brought in a bill for relieving Protestant dissenters from the penalties of not coming to church, and of holding conventicles. But by the influence of the court and bishops it miscarried.

Charles having refused to dismiss the Papists, whom he had openly admitted to places of power and trust, the Parliament, in 1675, enacted, That none, under the penalty of £500, should hold any office of profit or trust, unless they had sworn the oaths of allegiance and supremacy,

and had received the Lord's Supper in the manner of the English church, and solemnly renounced the doctrine of transubstantiation. This Act, requiring the reception of the Lord's Supper before the minister, church-wardens, and other two credible witnesses, as a condition of admission to civil offices under the crown, still remains in force, to the dishonour of Christ and reproach of religion. By the above act, the Cabal was dissolved, and Shaftsbury and Buckingham became advocates for the liberties of the kingdom. Provoked with this exclusion of Papists from places of power and trust, Charles and his courtiers laboured to increase the severities against the dissenters. Their clergy were imprisoned, plundered, and ruined. Sheldon, by another circular letter, quickened their persecution. But the Judges were become more mild, and shunned the informers, who had rendered themselves odious. Multitudes of lay conformists pitied their neighbours, when they saw them imprisoned and spoiled, for nothing but a scrupulous conscience, or an holy life. In vain the court attempted an act of Parliament, requiring, That every voter in the election of members of Parliament, and all members of it, or of the privy council, should swear, that it is unlawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the king, or those commissioned by him; and that they should never endeavour any alteration of either church or state. Quite infuriated with the loss of this arbitrary and enslaving bill, the courtiers, to their utmost, opposed all toleration of the dissenters, and anew encouraged the infamous informers, and inflamed the cruel persecution. Sir

Roger L'Estrange, a most profligate scoundrel, was hired to expose them from the press, and to encourage the severest treatment of them, as a people who had ruined the late king, and done every thing horrid. While the lower clergy retailed his calumnious abuse from their pulpits, the bishops opposed every measure for accommodation of differences with the Puritans, and applied to his majesty for a more vigorous prosecution of the penal laws against them.

In 1678, a Popish plot for rendering Charles and his successors absolute monarchs, and for introduction of the Popish religion, broke out. The Parliament committed five Popish Lords to the Tower, issued forth a proclamation against all Papists; and requested the King to remove James Duke of York, his brother, who had for several years professed himself a Papist, from his person and councils. The court did all that in them lay to stifle the evidence of this Popish plot, and employed L'Estrange to represent it as ridiculous. The patriots employed one Carr to publish weekly discoveries of the frauds and superstition of the church of Rome. But he was quickly fined, and his paper prohibited by the King's Bench. Nevertheless the Parliament, by an act, disqualified from a seat with them, all such as refused to abjure the doctrine of transubstantiation and worship of saints. To avert the odium from themselves, the Papists pretended to discover a Presbyterian plot. Dangerfield, the principal manager, having conveyed a number of seditious letters into one Marshall's house, sent the officers to search for prohibited goods, who soon found the letters he had laid fair for their hand.

But they being proven counterfeits, he confessed that the Popish Lords in the Tower, and others, had hired him to forge them.

In 1679, the parliament attempted to exclude the Duke of York from succeeding to the crown, because he was a Papist. Baffled in this, they attempted a comprehension of the dissenters; the Papists being now almost able to balance all the Protestants in the kingdom. Baffled in this also, they, with no small opposition in the House of Lords, repealed the statute of Elizabeth concerning the penalties of non attendance upon established churches. But the clerk of the crown, by Charles's secret instructions, withdrew this act, when, along with others, it should have received the royal assent. In imitation of the court, some conformist clergymen changed their wonted moderation into furious rage and persecution. Instead of an *IRENICUM*, Stillingfleet now published his *Mischief of Separation*; and highly condemned all the dissenters of the most criminal schism. He was answered by Owen, Baxter, Alsop, Howe, and Barret. Meanwhile, it seems, Charles hired Fitz-Harris, an Irish Papist, to forge a new Presbyterian plot. He sent letters to the peers, who had protested for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the crown, reviling the king and his family as Papists, and calling them to take up arms against him. But the farce was discovered.

In 1681, the parliament again attempted to exclude the Duke of York from the throne. But Charles dissolved them to prevent it; and notwithstanding his solemn promise, never called another. The university of Cambridge, and

many others, sent him flattering addresses in favours of arbitrary power; and some pressed the vigorous execution of the penal laws against Protestant dissenters. Hence they were now persecuted with uncommon fury. Not a few of the established clergy, in country places, who could drink and swear, as abandoned rakes, were made Justices of Peace. They readily judged in their own cause, and fined such dissenters as absented from their churches but a single day. To speak against Popery, was enough to make one suspected and reproached as a Puritan. The very Quakers, from whose hostilities nobody was in danger, were imprisoned and spoiled of their goods. Most of the clergy extolled passive obedience to sovereigns, let them act as wickedly and tyrannically as they could. By their published decree, the university of Oxford declared it *impious, seditious, scandalous, damnable, heretical, blasphemous, and infamous* to Christianity itself, to maintain, *That there is any original contract between the king and his subjects; or, That kings may be resisted when they subvert the constitution of the kingdom, and become absolute tyrants.*

The imprudent talk of some persons in taverns, or the like, gave the courtiers an handle to pretend what they called the *Rye-house plot*. By witnesses bribed for the purpose, the Earl of Essex, Lord Russel, Algernon Sidney, Rumbold, and Houblon, were impeached as guilty. Not content with the murdering of these innocent patriots, the court made their own farce a reason of new cruelties against the dissenters. Twenty young men at Newcastle were imprisoned a year, for meeting together for private

prayer and spiritual conference. Meanwhile, the clergymen published their three-and-twenty Cases against dissenters, in order to persuade the world, that all the severities used against them were just and reasonable. The dissenters were shut out from their own vindication by the restriction of the press. More daring than some others, Tho. de Laune, an Anabaptist schoolmaster, when publicly challenged for an answer by Dr. Calamy, a furious conformist, published his sensible *Plea for the nonconformists*, and on that account was cast into prison, where, notwithstanding all he could do for relief, he continued till he and his wife and two children perished of hunger and cold, or the like.

In 1685, Charles died, not without strong suspicions of poison from Popish hands, for the establishment of whose religion he was thought not sufficiently zealous and active. James Duke of York, a bigoted Papist, succeeded him, and solemnly engaged to preserve the government of both church and state. As if such a sovereign had been an inestimable blessing, the conformist pulpits, all over the nation, rang with thanksgivings; and all the counties set up their fulsome addresses. The university of Oxford, in the most unlimited manner, declared, That it was impossible to move them from an unlimited subjection to all his commands. His parliament, procured to his liking by bribery and other too common arts, settled two millions Sterling yearly upon him, that he might never be embarrassed for want of money, as his brother and father had been; and they besought his vigorous execution of the laws against the Protestant dissenters. The per-

secution was revived; and occasion was taken from Monmouth Charles' bastard son-in-law's invading the kingdom, to make it more and more terrible. The royal army in the west lived on the people at free quarter. Colonel Kirk caused a number of prisoners, without any trial, to be hung up for diversion, while he and his companions drank and danced beside the gibbets. Jeffries, now Chief Justice, whose savage temper had been sufficiently manifested, was appointed judge in the western circuit. Always drunk, or in a fury, he raged among the poor people as an absolute infernal. By repeated confinements, he forced juries to bring in people *guilty* whether they had proof, or believed them guilty, or not. He persuaded many of the prisoners to plead guilty, in hopes of a pardon, and then ordered them to be executed immediately, without having a moment for recommending their souls to God. About six hundred were hanged, and the quarters of two or three hundred were fixed on trees and gibbets by the way sides, to the great annoyance of travellers. He sold a multitude of pardons, from the rate of ten to fourteen thousand guineas a piece. By such methods, some dissenters were forced into the church, and multitudes fled to Holland or America; and Spademan, Rastric, Burroughs, Scoffin, Quipp, and other conforming clergymen, were, by the power of conscientious convictions, forced from the church, to join the persecuted dissenters.

Meanwhile the Popish party mightily increased.—Multitudes of Jesuits and regular priests were invited from abroad. Jesuitical seminaries of learning were erected in London and in the country. Mass chapels were erected in almost

every considerable town. Four Popish bishops were consecrated in the royal chapel. Multitudes of tracts for seducing people to Popery were published. Multitudes frequented the Popish chapels, as that, and zeal for James' absolute power were the sole road to preferments. All the subjects were prohibited to speak disrespectfully of his Majesty's religion. At last, some conformists opened their eyes, and began to preach against Popery. James prohibited the inferior clergy to touch upon controverted points of religion. Hereupon Drs. Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Tennison, Patrick, Wake, Whitby, Sharp, Atterbury, and others, began to copy the example, which the dissenters had set them, some years before, in their *Morning Exercises*, and published a number of sensible discourses against the principal corruptions of Popery. It seems, that Richard Baxter, and some other nonconformists offered to assist them in writing on these points. But their productions were not allowed to be printed. The established clergy did not appear fond of their help; nor had they proper access to the books necessary for such work; nor would it have been prudent to have provoked James beyond what they had done, in refusing to concur in the repeal of the *Test Act*. Provoked with the conformists opposition to his religion, James declared against the cruelty of the church of England. And, encouraged by the Judges, who interpreted the laws, he, by his absolute dispensing power, granted an *indulgence* to the dissenters, courted their affection, and encouraged them to set up their conventicles. They improved this opportunity of preaching the gospel, but had no good opinion of his end in granting it.

After a constant persecution of twenty-six years, the extremity of the Puritans sufferings now came to an end. About sixty thousand had suffered much on religious accounts. Five, if not rather about ten thousand had perished in prisons. Of the Quakers alone, three hundred and fifty died in jail, and about fourteen hundred were now released. Multitudes had retired to America, Holland, &c. nevertheless, the number of remaining dissenters was much the same as at the beginning of the persecution — Their firmness and constancy in sufferings convinced the world, that they were not governed by humour, but by conscience. Their sermons, being plain and practical, had no small success; their morals were remarkably answerable to the commandments of Christ; they had carefully trained up their children their own way, and laboured to impress their minds with a sense of religion. They studied to keep up a succession of faithful ministers. These things, together with the persecuting rage and licentious behaviour of the conformists, made the numbers of Puritans continue amidst all their temporal discouragements.

James and his priests being thoroughly enraged against their conformist opposers, he appointed commissioners all over the kingdom, to enquire into the loss sustained by the dissenters, that their persecutors might be obliged to refund it. The informers, judges, and many others, laid their account with immediate ruin. But the Puritans generally concealed their injuries, when it was in their power to have them revenged, and their loss refunded. By the advice of Chancellor Jefferies, and contrary to a standing

law of 1641, and to James' own subjection to the Pope, a new *High Commission* was erected to visit the nation, reform the disorders of the church, and punish clerical offenders with suspension, deprivation, excommunication, &c. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, was afraid to act in this terrible work. But the Bishops of Durham, and Rochester, Jefferies himself, the Earl of Sunderland, Herbert, and Wright, chief Justices, and Fenner, Recorder of London, some of them professed Papists, were not so squeamish. The universities of Cambridge and Oxford were commanded to fill up their vacancies with scandalous Popish fellows and governors; but they obstinately refused.

By his absolute power, James now published a *declaration* of his intentions, or rather a *promise* to protect the church of England, as by law established, and to grant a toleration in religion to all his subjects, and to abolish all penal laws against dissenters, or imposition of oaths or tests upon such as held public employments. The Baptists, Quakers, Independents, and Presbyterians, thanked him for his favour, but promised no absolute obedience. Notwithstanding the presence of two courtiers, most of the Presbyterian clergy at their general meeting, seemed willing rather to forfeit their liberty granted, than declare for his Majesty's power. Sir James Shorter, Mayor of London, declined his freedom from the Test, and from conformity to the English church, which displeased the king. Lobb, an Independent minister, Penn the Quaker, and some few other dissenters, complied not a little with James and his courtiers' measures; but the bulk of the dissenters stood off; and notwith-

standing all that the court could do, refused to assist in the destruction of those that had so long persecuted them. These persecutors now implored their assistance, and promised a redress of their grievances, as soon as their common danger from Popery should blow over. Some of the bishops waited upon the leaders of the dissenting clergy, and besought them to use their influence with their party to stand aloof from the court; in doing which, they might assuredly expect redress of their burdens, as soon as possible. The Marquis of Halifax, by advice of the church dignitaries, represented to the Dissenters, That they had no ground to trust the Papists, and that they ought not to prosecute their resentment at the expense of the public safety; and that they might see how the conformists' resentment had brought themselves to the brink of ruin. About twenty thousand copies of this letter were dispersed, and had a very good effect.

The rupture between James and the church of England having become quite open and manifest, both parties prepared for their own defence. By turning out magistrates and placing others in their room, according to the powers claimed by him in the new charters, and by displacing such officers in the kingdom as disliked his absolute power, and by a tour through the country to ingratiate himself with his people, James laboured to procure a Parliament for repealing the penal statutes concerning religion. Mild methods not succeeding to his wish, he abandoned himself to the direction of his furious Popish priests; made Father Petre, one of them, his prime minister, intending to make him

Archbishop of York, and a Cardinal of the Holy Conclave. The Earl of Castlemain was dispatched ambassador to Rome, and the Pope's nuncio received a solemn audience at Windsor, notwithstanding the law of Henry VIII. still made it treason to correspond with his Holiness. Parker, Bishop of Oxford, was employed to publish reasons of abrogating the test. In his performance he said what he could to excuse transubstantiation, and to clear the Papists from the charge of idolatry. But a smart reply by Dr. Burnet sunk the reputation of Parker. In Ireland, every thing was modelled for an immediate introduction of Popery. In England, James was busy at the like work. Protestant officers were turned out of the army. Portsmouth and Hull, the principal ports of the kingdom, were committed to Papists. Irish Papists came over in multitudes. Some regiments being formed only of Papists, and scarcely a troop or company without some placed in them by order from court, the army was brought to Blackheath, to awe the city of London and the Parliament.

There being still danger from a protestant successor, as Mary, his eldest daughter, had been married to William, Prince of Orange, son of Mary, daughter of Charles I. James wrote her a letter for persuading her to embrace his Popish religion, and employed one James Stewart, a Scotch lawyer, to cause Fagel, William's principal confidant, labour to promote his conversion to Popery, or at least his approbation of the repeal of the penal laws against it. William and Mary's answers giving James no ground to expect their conversion, he resolved to have a new heir to his crown, by his long barren Queen.—

The Jesuits' pretences, that she obtained this child by a vow to the Virgin Mary of Loretto, and their predictions that it would be a Prince, together with the total neglect of the requisite proofs of the Queen's pregnancy and delivery, and many other suspicious circumstances, made most of the Protestants in the nation believe it an imposture. Encouraged by the hopes of an unborn successor, James, in April 1688, by his absolute power over all laws, published his *second declaration* for liberty of conscience, and appointed the bishops to cause it to be read from every pulpit, during the time of divine worship. Crew of Durham, Barlow of Lincoln, Cartwright of Chester, Wood of Litchfield, Walters of St. David's, Sprat of Rochester, Parker of Oxford, and Herbert of Hereford complied; and all but Herbert returned their fulsome addresses of thanks to James. Eighteen bishops, and the chiefs of their clergy refused to publish it; so that it was read in no more than about two hundred churches, seven of them in London. Sancroft of Canterbury, Loyd of St. Asaph, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Bristol, in an address to James, attempted to justify their not publishing his declaration, as they could not but think the *dispensing* power contrary to the laws of the land. For their presumption they were sent to the Tower; which indeed they richly deserved on another account, as they had for twenty-seven years laboured to establish Kings' arbitrary power and passive obedience to it, till it came to be turned against themselves. Upon the 29th of June, after a trial of ten hours, these bishops, to James's inexpressible vexation, but

to the joy of the city and part of the army, were acquitted.

Finding that Mary, his Princess, was now excluded from the British crown by an heir, whose royal birth was at best extremely doubtful, William began to listen more attentively to the many invitations he received from England, beseeching him to come over and deliver the nation from Popery and slavery. Lewis XIV. of France informed James of his son-in-law's intention to invade his kingdom, and offered him fifteen thousand troops, or more, if necessary, to withstand him. But the Earl of Sunderland, who had been lately converted to Popery, persuaded him not to accept of these offered troops, as it would make all the Protestants believe that he intended an overthrow of their religion and liberties.—Persuaded of William's intentions to invade his kingdom, James, to regain the favour of his Protestant subjects, issued forth warrants for calling a Parliament; by advice of the bishops, took off the suspension of the Bishop of London, which had been inflicted for his refusing to suspend Dr. Sharp for preaching against Popery, before he had tried him;—dissolved the ecclesiastical commission; restored the charter of London, and the fellows of Magdalen college at Oxford; and renounced several other illegal practices.—But he no sooner heard that William's fleet was dispersed by a storm, than he stopt his redressing of grievances.

CHAPTER X.

King William succeeds—and, notwithstanding all the Episcopalians' fair Promises, Dissenters hardly obtain a Toleration.—Great Contentions between High and Low Churchmen, and between the Neonomians and Friends of Free Grace, and between the Arians and their Opponents, follow—Summary of Events of this Century.

UPON November 1st, William again put to sea with fourteen thousand men; and on the 5th landed at Torbay, in the south of England, the wind having almost miraculously favoured him, and restrained James's fleet. He published a *declaration*, in which he enumerated the grievances of the nation, relative to religion and liberty, and the fruitless attempts which had been made to have them redressed; and protested, that his intention in his expedition was to procure a free Parliament, in which these grievances might be redressed, and an agreement established between the church of England and the Protestant Dissenters. Finding by this declaration, that William had been invited by not

only nobles and others, but also by a number of the bishops, and that they refused to declare their detestation of his invasion, James placed all his hopes in his army, which he endeavoured to strengthen from Scotland, and especially from Ireland, in so much that many in Britain were afraid of a new Popish massacre. This fright being over, the London mob pulled down the Popish chapels. Father Petre, with shoals of Jesuits and priests, who had flocked about the court, fled out of the kingdom. Several of James's ministers of arbitrary power left him and concealed themselves. Jeffries was apprehended in a sailor's habit, and would have been torn to pieces by the mob, had not a strong guard escorted him to the Tower, where he died, before he came to his trial. When William came to Exeter, many of the nobility signed an association, in which they promised to assist him in the pursuance of his declaration, and to revenge whatever attempt should be made on his person. Finding that so many of his nobles and part of his army had gone over to his son-in-law; that Anne, his younger daughter, and her husband, Prince George, of Denmark, had left him; and that the university of Oxford, Archbishop Sancroft, and seven or eight other bishops, had signed the above-mentioned association—James, after not a little perplexity, contempt and abuse, followed his Queen into France. When William came to London, many of the established clergy, and about ninety Dissenters, in a body, presented their congratulatory addresses to him, and were graciously received. When he and Mary his consort were enthroned, the Dissenters presented an address to each of them, which were

favourably accepted. And indeed, during their whole reign, the Dissenters were their most hearty and steady friends.

Many of the clerical conformists now behaved in a most shocking manner. After they had long preached up the unlimited power of the King, and encouraged the imposition of oaths acknowledging it, they plainly shewed that they regarded it only so far as it was exercised to support themselves. After they had seduced James into his extravagancies, they left him to perish in his ruins. After they had solemnly engaged to support William, they almost constantly laboured to compass the ruin of his person and government. Sancroft of Canterbury, Loyd of Norwich, Turner of Ely, Frampton of Gloucester, Thomas of Worcester, Lake of Chichester, and White of Peterborough, refused to swear allegiance to him. Many, who did swear it, by their distinction between a King *de facto* and one *de jure*, plainly manifested that they submitted to William and Mary as mere usurpers, whom they thought it their duty to pull down, if ever they could. No sooner was their danger from the Papists over, than they cast all their kind promises to Dissenters at their heels, and appeared as ready to persecute them as ever. The eight bishops above-mentioned, pretended to move for a comprehension of some Dissenters, and for a toleration of the rest, and meanwhile instigated their friends to oppose it, and to represent the promoters of it as enemies to the church. The bigotted clergy threatened their moderate brethren with a new separation, if any important mitigation of the terms of communion were allowed to the Dissenters; and by that means de-

tered them from correcting the Book of Common Prayer, lest these zealots, by adhering to the old forms of it, should draw over the body of the nation to their side.

When King William came to his first Parliament, 1689, he recommended the exclusion of Papists from all places of power or trust, and the unhampered admission of all his Protestant subjects. Some members moved, that the receiving of the Lord's Supper, at least in the manner of the established church, should not be held a necessary qualification for a civil office: but the contrary was carried. The dispensing with *kneeling* at the Lord's Supper, or *crossing* in baptism, and an allowance for persons to explain *assent* and *consent*, in their subscription of the *Thirty-nine Articles*, were refused in the House of Lords. An act of *toleration* for all Protestants, excepted Socinians, by which they were exempted from the penalties of nonconformity, providing they take the oaths to the government, and subscribe the doctrinal articles of the English church, was got carried, but with great difficulty.

During the dependence of the above acts in Parliament, a motion was made in the House of Lords, for a comprehension of the moderate Dissenters, and a removal of these things at which they principally scrupled. Some moved, that, as under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. a mixed committee of clergymen and laymen, should prepare the draught of corrections and terms of agreement. This motion was rejected by a small majority. Burnet laments that he opposed it for fear of offending the established clergy. By the advice of Dr. Tillotson, King William referred it to a Synod of clergymen, that

their body might the more readily receive it, and the Papists have less handle of objecting against it. Lamplugh, Archbishop of York, Loyd, Sprat, Burnet, and six other bishops—Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Sharp, Beveridge, Scot, Grove, Patrick, Kidder, Tennison, Fowler, and ten other divines, were appointed to meet and prepare such alterations of the *Liturgy* and *Canons*—and to frame overtures for the reformation of the ecclesiastical courts, and consider every other like matter, which might tend to the peace and welfare of the church. Bishops Mew and Sprat, and two divines withdrew, that they might have no hand in relieving the Dissenters. Some who remained, pled, that making of alterations upon the constitutions of the church, for gratifying an obstinate and peevish party, would but render them more insolent, would occasion a rent in the church, and make people dis-esteem the Liturgy, which needed correction.—Nevertheless, the committee finished their work, and agreed, that certain parts of canonical Scripture be read in place of the Apocryphal Lessons; and that the Athanasian Creed might be omitted, and that ascribed to the Apostles used instead of it. They drew up new Collects more agreeable to the Epistles and Gospels. Kidder formed a new version of the Psalms from the Hebrew. They substituted more plain and safe expressions instead of those which had been excepted against in the Liturgy. They agreed that the singing of God's praise by musical instruments in cathedrals, be laid aside; that legendary saints' days should be omitted in the Calendar, and not observed; that the use of the cross in baptism, and of *godfathers* and *godmothers* be left to the option of parents; that *kneel-*

ing in the Lord's Supper be left indifferent; that the use of the *surplice* be left indifferent, and at the discretion of the bishop of the diocese; that the re-ordination of such as have been ordained by Presbyters be only conditional; that the name of *priest* be changed into that of *minister*, &c. &c. These alterations would have probably brought in three-fourths of the Dissenters to the established church. But the bulk of the clergy relished no such condescensions. While the committee were employed in their work, many raised a terrible outcry, that King William and his agents intended to pull down Episcopacy, and set up Presbytery. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge furiously declared themselves against all alterations; and that such as promoted them were undoubted enemies to the church.

Care was taken to appoint such members for the convocation as would so judge of the work of the committee, as to put an end to all attempts of alterations. When they met, King William desired them to consider what he had to lay before them, with due and impartial zeal for the welfare of the church. But the lower House at the first resolved to enter on no debate relative to the Book of Common Prayer and Constitutions of their church. They had scarcely temper enough to thank his Majesty for his promised protection of them and their church. Nor could the bishops bring them to acknowledge any Christian fellowship with the Protestant churches abroad, as had been done in the address of the Upper House. Finding the Lower House behave in this furious manner, William dissolved their meeting; and since they were in no temper to do good, he, by proroguing their assem-

blies, restrained them from doing any hurt for ten years to come. The settlement of Presbyterianism in Scotland was improved by these mad zealots, as an handle for calumniating his Majesty, and opposing all condescension toward the Dissenters.

Terrible was now the contention between the Episcopalian clergy that took the oaths of *allegiance* and *supremacy* to King William, and such as did not. The *Nonjurants* represented their opponents as men who had trampled on their consciences for the sake of preferment, and pretended, that the imposition of the oath warranted them to separate from their brethren; that they had their spiritual authority from Christ, and could not be deprived of it by the civil powers, and so were still bound to take care of the souls of their people. The *Jurants* replied, That they were schismatics in separating from the church; that though the state had deprived them of their livings, they ought not to revenge it upon the church, in a schismatical withdrawal from her communion; and that magistrates may lawfully deprive clergymen of their extrinsical power of exercising their ministry. All along from the Reformation, and especially for near thirty years past, the Episcopalian clergy had maintained the power of princes in ecclesiastical causes, and an unlimited passive obedience to them. But now the High Church party refused to admit of his Majesty's power in spiritual causes; and both they and the Williamites gave up with their doctrine of passive obedience.

Having now lost hopes of access to the established church, the bulk of the Presbyterians and Independents formed a plan of concord be-

tween themselves, bearing, That all who are united to Christ are members of his catholic invisible church, and all visible believers and their children members of the visible ; that societies of visible believers, who, under Christ, statedly join together for communion in all the ordinances of the gospel, are particular churches ; that none ought to be admitted as members to all sealing ordinances, but such as know and believe the fundamental truths of the gospel, and are of blameless lives, marked with visible godliness and honesty ; that a competent number of visible saints become the subjects of stated church-fellowship, upon their agreement to walk together according to gospel rules ; that though parochial churches are not of divine institution, yet, for edification, the members of a particular church ought to live as contiguously as possible ; that every particular church hath a right to choose their own pastors ; and being furnished with them, hath authority from Christ for the exercise of government, and dispensation of ordinances within itself ; that in administrating church power, it belongs to officers to rule, and to the brotherhood to consent ; that all Christians, as they have opportunity, ought to join, and stedfastly continue in communion with some particular church ; that the ministerial office is appointed by Jesus Christ, for the gathering, edification and government of his church, till the end of the world ; that such as are called or admitted to the ministerial office, ought to be marked with proper gifts, grace, and holy conversation ;—that in ordinary cases, none ought to be ordained pastors, but in relation to some particular church ; that it is proper that the pastors

of neighbouring congregations be consulted in the calling of ministers, and assist at their ordination ; that it is proper that the gifts of candidates for preaching the gospel be tried by pastors, and that they be sent forth with solemn approbation and prayer ; that in every church admonitions and excommunications of scandalous persons ought to have place ; that in order to promote the communion of churches, all the members ought to walk Christianly towards one another,—no church ought to usurp authority over one another, nor to decoy members from another, or to blame the proceedings of another, till it hath had an opportunity of defending itself—and every one ought readily to give account of its procedure, in order to prevent offence ; that deacons, who take care of the poor, are appointed by Christ ; that no breach ought to be made with respect to the institution of ruling elders ; that Synods ought to be held at least for consultation about church affairs, and their decisions to be received with reverence, and none to dissent from them, without apparent ground from the word of God ; that all men ought to pray for, obey, and support civil magistrates.

They agreed pretty well in condemning the expressions of Davis of Rothwel, sundry of which bordered on Antinomianism or Anabaptism ; but soon fell into a terrible flame of contention relative to some of the distinguished truths of the gospel. For almost forty years preceding, Richard Baxter had been attempting to form a medley of Calvinistical and Arminian doctrines, particularly concerning our redemption by Christ and justification before God, and had been refuted by Dr. Owen, Crandon, Brown, and many

others. Nevertheless, his fame of piety and penetration had decoyed most of the English Presbyterians to his side. In 1690, the sermons of the eminently pious Dr. Crisp, who had flourished about fifty years before, and had been blamed for approaching too near Antinomianism, were re-published by his son. Several ministers attested that they believed the additional sermons to be genuine. This attestation was pretended to be a countenancing of their contents. Mr. Williams published his *Gospel Truth stated and vindicated*, in which he attempted to refute several positions laid down by Dr. Crisp. As he steered a middle course betwixt Baxterianism and Calvinism, or rather refined upon Baxter, it was not difficult to procure a solemn approbation of his book from clergymen of his acquaintance. But it was refuted with great warmth by Isaac Chauncey, in his *Neonomianism Unmasked*. Robert Trail also published a letter in vindication of the Protestant doctrine of justification through the imputed righteousness of Christ alone, and of the practisers and professors of it, from the unjust charge of Antinomianism.

Great pains were taken by some to heal this unhappy breach, which hindered the success of the gospel, and mightily pleased the Conformist enemies of both parties. But by mutual reproaches it was more and more widened. A breach was made in the lecture at *Pinner's Hall*. Nothing less than the exclusion of Williams could satisfy his opponents.—Bates, Howe, and Alsop, who were all inclined to his sentiments, went off with him. Mead and T. Cole remained, and had four others added in place of those

that went off. Mather, Lobb, Goodwin, and others, appeared in opposition to Williams's scheme of the gospel being a *new law*, and his denial of a *legal change of person* between the elect and Christ as their surety. Lobb appealed to Stillingfleet, now Bishop of Worcester, and to Dr. John Edwards, both of whom favoured Dr. Williams's scheme. After the two parties, by hot debates, of several years' continuance, had rendered themselves a reproach, they, in some sort, referred their differences to Herman Witsius, a Dutch professor of divinity. To compose them, he published his *Animadversiones Irenicæ*, in which he, with great candour, meekness, and precision, pointed out the truth, and reproved the ill-guarded expressions of them that held it. He shewed, That all the sins of elect men being laid upon, borne, and satisfied for, by Christ, as their surety, there behoved to be an exchange of persons between him and them in law-reckoning; that though Christ bore the sins of his people, not only during his last sufferings, but in his whole state of humiliation, he ought not to be represented as a *sinner, blasphemer, adulterer, &c.* or as abominable to, and abdicated by, his Father; that, though Christ absolutely and unconditionally purchased eternal redemption for all his elect, yet his righteousness is not imputed to their persons, till the moment of their regeneration and spiritual union to him; that though Christ and his elect were legally united together from all eternity, that their sins might be laid on him and satisfaction demanded from him in the fulness of time, yet their mystical union is not begun till he apprehend them by his Spirit, nor completed till they receive him by faith;

that Christ's holiness of nature and life under the law, as well as his satisfactory sufferings, are imputed by God to all believers, which constitute them perfectly holy and righteous in law-reckoning before him, as their infinitely exact Judge; that men's justification before God in no respect depends upon any kind of works of theirs, nor on faith, which is, and necessarily produceth good works, as a work, as a condition or disposing cause, but merely as an instrument of receiving Christ and his righteousness and justification through it; that though many true believers have not any bold confidence, that Christ and his salvation are theirs in possession, yet faith, in itself, is a most firm persuasion of one's own particular right to Christ and all his saving benefits; and this persuasion is weak or strong, as faith itself is in the heart; that repentance, in the root of it, being coeval with the habit of faith, may be said to precede actual pardon of sin, as well as faith; that, though all the sins of believers, past, present, and to come, be fully and irrevocably pardoned in their justification, on account of which, God, as a legal judge, can see no sin in them, in order to condemnation, yet, as an omniscient and holy Father, he sees much sin in them to be highly displeased with them, and which exceedingly hurts and defiles them,—and therefore they ought to be burdened with, confess, and mourn over it, and pray for the pardon of it; that though Christ's surety-righteousness be the only proper condition of the covenant of grace, yet the Lord hath appointed faith to be the mean of his elect's entrance into the actual enjoyment of the blessing of it; that though our graces and good works are of no

avail as the condition of our justification before God, nay, as dwelling in our sinful nature, and proceeding from us, are but as loss, dung, and filthy rags before him as a judge, yet as proceeding from the Holy Ghost, and accepted through Christ, they are of great use as a preparation for heaven, and as means of averting God's judgments, and drawing his delights and benefits on us, as his friends and children in Christ; that the law of God, as a covenant of works, and as a rule of life, and the gospel, particularly as *strictly taken*, ought to be carefully preached in their proper connexions with each other; and that, though the beginning of our spiritual life is produced by the gospel *strictly taken*, conveying God's grace into our heart, the progress and increase of it, is produced both by the gospel, and by the law as a rule of life.

These contentions had more abundantly exposed the Dissenters concerned to the ridicule of their conformist neighbours, had they not been as hotly engaged among themselves. Mr. Howe had published a letter, pleading with both Conformists and Nonconformists, that they would think of, and behave Christianly and charitably toward each other, as the points in which they differed were of small importance, in respect of those in which they agreed. But whatever good effect this might have upon some Dissenters, it had none upon most of the Conformists. Stillingfleet and others exceedingly grudged at the late toleration. To allay their heats, Locke, so well known in the learned world, at different times, published his *Letters on Toleration*, in which, amidst not a few loose hints, he hath exhausted his subject, and shewed that force is an

improper mean of conviction; and that men ought not to be compelled by it, into the faith, profession, and practice of religion.

After patient waiting for several years, the sees of the Nonjurant deprived bishops were filled up in 1691; and the rather, as Turner of Ely had been accused of having a hand in a conspiracy against King William. John Tillotson was made Archbishop of Canterbury, Ed. Fowler Bishop of Gloucester, Sam. Patrick of Ely, J. More of Norwich, Rich. Kidder of Bath and Wells, Rich. Cumberland of Peterborough, Robert Grove of Chichester, and Edward Stillingfleet of Worcester. Tillotson died about three years after, greatly lamented by all the friends of ingenuity, charity, and moderation, and was succeeded by Tennison. Many of the inferior clergy refused to hold communion with these new bishops, but adhered to the old, and thus formed a church of Nonjurors. They maintained, That James still continued the only lawful King of Britain; that all such as acknowledged another, were, by the second canon, *ipso facto*, excommunicated; that the deprivation of bishops by civil authority is utterly invalid, and ought not to be regarded; that the authority of the Church of England, and consequently the church itself, resides in the Nonjurors and their successors, who have stedfastly adhered to her true constitutions; and that all that depart from them, or join the new schismatical bishops, are schismatics, and all such clergy as do so, forfeit their office, and cannot dispense the ordinances of God to any edification. Hicks, Kettlewell, and Lesly, were principal supporters of this scheme. Hellier and others, but especially

Hoadly, afterward Bishop of Winchester, opposed them.

As King William had long restrained the convocation from meeting and transacting business at the same time with the parliament, a Remonstrance was published in 1697, bearing, That convocations were now as necessary, as ever they had been in the Christian church ; that William had sworn to maintain the rights of the English Church ; that the convocation ought to be called whenever the parliament sits ; that they are a spiritual parliament, consisting of an Upper and Lower House,—and have power to proceed against such as are guilty of heresy, schism, or any other spiritual offences, without restriction by any act of parliament ; and that their *canons* are binding, if agreeable to common sense, his Majesty's prerogative, and the laws of the land. This kindled a new controversy, which was not soon, if ever adjusted. Dr. Wake, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, in several tracts, laboured to prove the power of Christian princes over ecclesiastical Synods, and was answered by Hill and Atterbury, in his *Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation, stated and vindicated*, who, in their turn, were answered by Kennet, Burnet, &c.

The contests of the Dissenters concerning the doctrines of the gospel, and of the Episcopalians concerning church government, were not finished when the convocation sat down in A. D. 1700. Bent upon asserting their own independency of the Upper, the Lower House refused to adjourn, when required by the archbishop. Without any allowance from the King, they collected and read several books, and marked their

errors. Some members complained with great warmth of Burnet's exposition of the *Thirty-nine Articles*. They intended to have strengthened the church with additional *Canons*. But, as his Majesty had given them no licence to proceed to business, the archbishop prorogued their meeting till May, after they had sitten some months to no purpose. A new contest ensued, Whether the Lower House of convocation have power to adjourn or continue themselves, as they please? Many tracts relative to this point were published. The Upper House laboured by all the expedients they could devise, to have peace and harmony with the Lower, till at last his Majesty's death in March 1702, for a time hushed their debate.

ANNE had scarcely succeeded him, when the Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist Dissenters presented her with a joint address. Their conforming enemies already hoped to revive their former oppression. Before this, Clarkson had published his *Account of the Primitive Bishops and Liturgies*, King his *Constitution of the Primitive Church*, James Owen his *Plea for the Validity of Presbyterian Ordination*, and Tong his *Vindication of the Dissenters*,—none of which pleased the Episcopalian bigots. Sir Humphrey Edwin, a Dissenting Mayor of London, about five years before, had carried the *Regalia*, or badges of his office, to the meeting at *Pinner's Hall*. Some tracts had been published for and against the occasional conformity of Dissenters, bearing public office.—Having got rid of King William, whom they heartily hated, and got a Queen of their own temper, their enemies resolved to ham-

per their toleration with additional restrictions and conditions, and to exclude them from all public office, unless they fully and constantly conformed to the church.

No sooner had the parliament met, than the Commons appeared chiefly bent for carrying a Bill for the exclusion of all occasional Conformists from public offices under the crown, and bearing, That whosoever, after taking of the sacramental test for offices of trust or magistracy in corporations, frequented any meeting of Dissenters for the public worship of God, should pay a fine of L. 500 Sterling, and L. 5 more for every day he retained his office after he had been at any such meeting. As the Lords would not agree to it, it was dropt. In 1703, the Commons altered their Bill a little, but the Lords again rejected it. In 1704, the Commons brought it in a third time, and many of them attempted to tack it to a money Bill, that the one might not be got rejected without the other. But this miscarried, and the Lords refused the Bill a second reading. None opposed it more earnestly than Bishop Burnet and his moderate Episcopal brethren.

This Bill occasioned a prodigious number of publications for and against occasional conformity. The enemies of the dissenters pled, That, if they could occasionally conform for the sake of an office, their separation was not matter of conscience with them, but a real schism; that if occasional conformity was lawful, constant conformity must be so likewise; and that either their occasional conformity or their stated non-conformity must be hypocritical. The Dissenters and other friends of occasional conformity pled,

That though they thought it their duty to maintain stated communion with such as they reckoned wrongfully excluded from the national church, as a testimony against such persecution; with such as administered Christ's ordinances with least mixture of human inventions; with such as asserted the liberty of Christians from human impositions in the worship of God; with such as denied admission of persons ignorant, or scandalous, to the seals of his covenant; with such whose principles most admitted of Christian charity, and in whose administration their souls experienced most spiritual edification: yet they reckoned occasional conformity lawful, that therein they might imitate the practice of John Baptist and of Jesus Christ and his apostles; that they might shew their charity and regard to those of different sentiments, and their readiness to join the established church, if they had but a proper opportunity afforded them. After both parties had written themselves out of breath, an act against the admission of occasional conformists to any places of power and trust, passed in 1711.

Instigated by Bishop Burnet, Anne, in 1704, remitted the arrears of the tythes to the poor clergy, and offered to allot her whole share of the first fruits and tythes for that end. The parliament passed an act for alienation of this branch of the revenue for said end, and for forming a corporation to see to the application of it accordingly; and they repealed the statute of *Mortmain*, so far as to allow persons to dispoise what they pleased for the augmentation of benefices. This kindness did not reconcile the clergy to Burnet, whom they had long so heartily hated. The Lower House of convo-

cation still contended with their superiors in the Upper. They besought her Majesty to protect them, and take the point of debate between them into her own hand for decision. In 1705, the Upper House having drawn up an address of thanks to her for her affectionate care of the church, which the parliament had lately declared to be in no danger, the Lower One, without offering any reason, refused to concur in it, and formed one of their own, in a very different strain, which was rejected by the archbishop. In consequence of this, the address was dropped, and all communication between the two houses shut up. The Queen, by a letter, signified to the archbishop, That she resolved to maintain her supremacy, and the due subordination of presbyters to bishops, and hoped that he and his suffragans would act accordingly, in doing which they might expect her protection; and she appointed him to impart this declaration to the bishops and clergy, and to prorogue the convocation to such time as should appear most convenient.

In 1707, the parliament readily agreed to make the perpetual security of the church of England a *fundamental article* of the incorporating union with the Scots. But the Lower House of convocation still continued to wrangle with their superiors. They resolved to remonstrate to the Commons against the union, as dangerous to their church. Apprized of their intentions, her Majesty required the archbishop to prorogue them for three weeks, before the expiration of which, the act for the union had passed in parliament. They remonstrated to the Upper House against the prorogation, and pretended, that the convocation had never been prorogued during the sit-

ting of parliament. But from the records it appeared that, on several occasions, it had been prorogued while the parliament sat, and in some instances had sat after the parliament had been dissolved. Informed of their behaviour, the Queen wrote to the archbishop, that she looked on them as invading her supremacy ; and that if they attempted any such thing for the future, she would take care to punish the offenders. About the same time, the French Protestants prosecuted Elias Marion, John Cavalier, and Durand Fage, before Compton Bishop of London. They were declared impostors. Notwithstanding this sentence was confirmed by the bishops, these French prophets, or rather enthusiasts, held their assemblies in London, under the countenance of Sir Richard Bulkely and John Lacy ; reviled the established clergy, and denounced the judgments of God against London and the whole British nation. The French Protestants therefore again prosecuted them, and each of them was fined in twenty marks, and condemned to stand twice on a scaffold, with papers on their breast, exhibiting their offence.

For twenty years, multitudes of the English conformists had continued reviling the Revolution. King William had scarcely expired, when his character and conduct were most rudely abused. So loud were the outcries of the church being in danger, especially by those that lived more like brutes or devils, than like Christians, that the Parliament, in 1715, had been obliged to take this matter into consideration, and had resolved, that the church was in a flourishing condition ; and that whoever attempted to persuade people that she was in danger, should be

held an enemy to the Queen, church, and kingdom. Notwithstanding all this, Dr. H. Sacheverel, in 1709, published two sermons, in which he pretended, that the necessary means of bringing about the Revolution were odious and unjustifiable; that the act tolerating Protestant Dissenters was unreasonable and unwarrantable; that the established church of England was in great danger under her Majesty's administration; that the present administration of both church and state tended to destroy their constitution. The Commons declared his sermons scandalous and seditious libels; and impeached himself of high crimes and misdemeanors before the Lords. The Commons' too warm prosecution of him disgusted many that were of moderate principles. The Tories pretended that the Whigs had formed a design to pull down the church, and by this prosecution meant to try their strength in the Parliament before they attempted their principal object. These reports were too readily credited and spread by many of the clergy, in order to inflame their people in favour of Sacheverel. During his trial, of three weeks continuance, her Majesty every day attended in the House, though not in her royal appearances, and crowds of people attended him to and from it, and pressed to kiss his hand, as if he had been some famous confessor.—They beset the Queen's chariot, and cried, that they hoped she was for Dr. Sacheverel. After his council had finished their defence, he, in a speech, solemnly justified his intentions towards her Majesty and government, respectfully mentioned the Revolution, and Protestant succession to the crown; but maintained the doctrine of passive obedience to

Sovereigns, as a maxim of the English church. As Anne secretly favoured his cause, her chaplains encouraged and extolled him as the champion of the church. After much virulent altercation, he was found guilty, condemned to forbear preaching for three years, and his sermons to be publicly burnt by the hangman of London. His friends considered the lenity of his sentence as a proof of their victory over his opponents. Being presented to a living in North Wales, he went thither with all the pomp and magnificence of a Prince, was received by the university of Oxford, and the Magistrates of several towns, in his way, in much the same manner as if a King, and was often attended by about a thousand horse, and nothing was heard, but the cry of *the church and Dr. Sacheverel*. No sooner was his sentence expired, in 1713, than the new House of Commons called him to preach before them, and the Queen presented him to the rich benefice of St. Andrew's, London.

Queen Anne having turned out all her Whig ministers, except the Duke of Marlborough, and dissolved her whiggish Parliament, great care was taken to provide members to her taste for the next. Such was the enthusiastic zeal for Sacheverel, that few were returned members, but such as had distinguished themselves in opposition to the Whig administration. Being met in 1711, they appointed fifty new churches to be built in London, and excluded the Dissenters from all civil offices or places of power and trust unless they became constant conformists. The Lower House of convocation chose Dr. Atterbury, a furious Tory, for their prolocutor and director, while the Queen marked her contempt of

the bishops, many of whom were too whiggish for her new schemes of introducing a Popish pretender, and overturning the liberties of both church and state. She called the two Houses of convocation to repress the attempts of profane persons against religion. Atterbury drew up a representation of the state of religion ever since the Revolution, containing most severe strictures upon the administration. The bishops drew up one more moderate, and proposed several regulations. But the Houses could agree in almost nothing but the censuring of the Arian tenets vented by Whiston, Professor of mathematics in the university of Cambridge. But, as they did not censure himself, and the Queen did not ratify their censure on his doctrine, he continued publicly justifying and pleading, that the *apostolical constitutions* were not only canonical Scripture, but in point of authority preferable to our Gospels. To prevent the growth of schism, the Parliament, in 1714, notwithstanding great opposition in both Houses, enacted, that no Dissenters should be allowed to teach in any school or academy. But the Queen dying on the very day on which the force of this statute commenced, it became null and void.

WHEN King George I. came to the throne, he marked an evident bias toward the Whigs, who had so earnestly laboured for his advancement. This provoked the Tories, and even the populace against him. Dangerous tumults were raised at Birmingham, Bristol, Chippenham, Norwich, Reading, &c. The cry of the party was, *Down with the Whigs, and up with Sacheverel for ever.* As the disputes relative to the Trinity, which had

been carried on about twenty years, still increased, his Majesty required the bishops to see that nothing should be taught on that head, but what is contained in the Holy Scripture; and that no clergymen should meddle with the affairs of state. The Parliament, in 1717, repealed the act against admission of occasional conformists into places of power or trust, and the act prohibiting Protestant Dissenters to teach in schools and academies. Hoadly, now Bishop of Bangor, distinguished himself in pleading for the repeal, as he thought that no man ought to be deprived of civil privileges on account of his religious opinions. As he had published a *Preservative from the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors*, and a sermon on the *Nature of Christ's Kingdom*, the convocation appointed Drs. Moss, Sherlock, Friend, Sprat, Canon, and Bisse, to examine them. In their remarks, they represented both, as tending to subvert all discipline and government in the church of Christ, and to reduce it to anarchy and confusion, and as impugning the royal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, and the power of the Parliament to enforce obedience in religious matters by civil sanctions. To restrain their heats, his Majesty appointed the archbishop to prorogue them. Their publications afterward exposed them to the derision of moderate on-lookers. Snape and Sherlock were Hoadly's principal antagonists. Never since hath the convocation been allowed to transact any business besides complimentary addresses to the King.

The prosecution of Bisse for maintaining James to be lawful King of Britain, and George an usurper, and that for thirty years past there had

been neither King, Laws, nor Parliament ; and his condemnation to stand on the pillory at Charing-cross, and at the Royal Exchange, and to lie four years in prison, and to pay a fine of £600 : the Parliament's admission of a solemn declaration from the Quakers instead of an oath ; and their condemnation of Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, in 1722, as a traitor, to forfeit all his dignities and benefices, and to banishment from the kingdom, never to return under pain of death ; the attempt of the Quakers to get themselves freed from payment of ecclesiastical dues ; the intended naturalization of foreign Protestants and Jews ; the proposal of correcting the Book of Common Prayer ; the act for the public solemnization of marriage ; and the late attempt of Arians, Socinians, and others, to have the subscription of the *Thirty-nine Articles* laid aside ; and the act for toleration of Papists, are perhaps too late, or too unimportant for a place in this abridgment. It is more pleasant to observe, that within these fifty years past, the doctrines of the free grace of God reigning through the imputed righteousness of Jesus Christ, have, by Hervey and others in the established church, as well as by Dissenters of different denominations, been not a little revived, and successfully spread, and are at present preached by hundreds, though too often with a restriction of the Gospel offer to *sensible* sinners.



A

BRIEF SKETCH
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER XI.

History of the Irish Church—Introduction of Christianity—Long miserable State of Religion under Popery—Introduction of Protestant Religion, and of Presbyterians, and their Success and Persecution—Irish Massacre, and Popish Rebellion—Papists repressed by Cromwel—Prelacy restored by Charles, and Papists favoured—Nation almost wholly ripened for Popery under King James II.—Protestants' Deliverance by King William, and subsequent History.

PERHAPS, by means of the Dioclesian persecution in England and France, the Gospel had been introduced into Ireland in the fourth cen-

tury. About A. D. 428, Palladius, the deacon, with twelve assistants, being sent to form the believers there into an Episcopal church, landed in Leinster, and gained some proselytes, and founded three churches. But, being rudely treated by the heathen inhabitants, he retired to North Britain, and ended his labours among the Picts. Patrick, a native of Bretagne in France, or rather of Scotland, near Glasgow, was fired with zeal for the conversion of the savage Irish. Being driven from Leinster, after he had converted Cormac, a Prince, and some others, he fled to Ulster, where Dichu, a Prince, and the whole court of Tarah were converted to Christ. It is said that he established a bishopric at Clogher, and an archbishopric at Ardmach, committing the first to M'Curtin, and the last to the pious Binen; and that, soon afterwards, he carried thirty holy men from Britain to Ireland, and made them all bishops; and that, by his incessant labours, of about sixty years continuance, he spread the Christian religion through Leinster, Ulster, and Munster, baptized twelve thousand converts, and erected three hundred and sixty-five bishoprics, to be sure not diocesan ones, and died in A. D. 491. About seventy years after, one Columb is represented as coming from the west of Scotland, with no less than twenty bishops, forty priests, fifty devoted monks, and thirty students in his train, and pushing his way into the Convention of Estates, which was sitting at Dromoeat. Some writers represent Ireland in these times as famous for learning and piety; but I could never find any proper evidence of it, beside Monkish devotions. Congall, Columba, Aidan, Finan, Fursey, Cuthbert, Col-

man, Clement, Albin, Claude, John Erigena, and the famous Cormac, Archbishop of Cashell and King of Munster, who settled the Psalter of Cashell, are marked as their principal men of learning. But, I suspect, the most of these were rather natives of Scotland.

The almost perpetual wars of the many Irish kings, one with another, the invasions of the country by the Picts and by the Welsh, &c. in the eighth century, rendered the nation miserable enough. But the depredations and conquests of the Danes and Norwegians, in the *ninth* and *tenth* centuries, rendered their condition absolutely wretched. These northern savages, not only almost extirpated all appearances of Christianity, but, by fire and sword, barbarously wasted and took possession of the best of the country. Notwithstanding these heathens were at last driven out, about A. D. 1050, there was but little regard paid to true Christianity, when the English, in consequence of a grant of the country by the Pope to King Henry II. and an invitation by one of the seven kings, a vile adulterer, for his own protection, conquered, at least part of it, and introduced their laws into it, about A. D. 1170. During these two centuries, Marian-Scot, Tigernach, Melisa of Munster, Gilbert of Limerick, and Malachy, the famed Archbishop of Ardmach, who is said to have emitted the *Prophecy of the Popes*, were their principal learned men. In order to render the Irish church like to the English, Henry, after splendidly feasting the princes and other chiefs, convened a national Synod at Cashell, which enacted, That none should marry their cousins or any other of their near kinsfolk; that children should be catechised without the church

door, and be baptized in the fonts appointed for that end in the churches; that the tithes of corn, cattle, and other increase and profits, should be faithfully paid to the church; that all church land and property should be free from all secular exactions and impositions; that no clergyman, however near of kin, should pay any part of ERIC, or composition for murder; that Christians, being sick, shall make their testament before the priest and their neighbours, dividing their moveables, which remain after payment of all debts, into three parts, one for the widow, another for the children, and a third for the performance of the will; and, if he have no children, one half for the widow, and the other for the performance of his testament; that all that die in the Catholic faith be brought to church and regularly buried; and that all the parts of divine service be performed in the churches of Ireland, in the same order and manner, as in the church of England.

Either at the college of Oxford, or by means of some Waldenses that had fled into Ireland, Richard, Archbishop of Ardmach, appears to have obtained some discernment of the Popish abominations, which occasioned to him not a little trouble from the Pope and his monks. King Henry VIII. having broken off from the Pope, because he refused to dissolve his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, introduced his English reformation into Ireland, and required the clergy to abjure his Holiness's authority, and acknowledge himself head of their church in his stead. But, except Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, few of the dignified clergy heartily complied. The Primate of Ardmach not only hindered most of his suffra-

gans and inferior clergy from submission, but laid a curse on all the people that should own Henry's *supremacy*; pretending that, as the country had been characterized the *Holy Island*, it belonged to none but the Bishop of Rome. And, indeed, such was the brutish ignorance of both clergy and laity, and their zealous attachment to the idolatries and superstitions of Rome, that they needed no instigation. The parliament meeting in A. D. 1535, confirmed his Majesty's ecclesiastical as well as civil supremacy, and asserted his power to reform heresies, errors, and other ecclesiastical corruptions; and enacted, That none should appeal to Rome under pain of *premunire*; that the Pope had no authority in Ireland; that whoever dared to assert or defend his usurped jurisdiction, should incur a *premunire*; that all persons in civil or ecclesiastical offices, should swear the *Oath of Supremacy* appointed, or be liable to the pains of treason; that none should slander his Majesty or Queen, or their title, under pain of treason; that the monasteries be suppressed; that clergymen pay their annats, or revenues of the first year to the king; that the twentieth part of the annual profits, belonging to any archbishopric, or any other spiritual promotion, be yearly paid to him and his successors; that no benefices be given to any that cannot speak *English*, unless where such as speak it cannot be got; and that, if necessity require the admission of one that has only the Irish language, he shall give his oath that he will do his utmost to learn the English language and observe the English order, and teach these under him to do the like, and will keep an English school in the parish for that purpose; that

no *Peter Pence*, or any other pension or portion, be ever hereafter paid to the Pope or his agents. Lord Grey, Lieutenant, by King Henry's order, laboured to force the Irish to acknowledge the royal supremacy. But though many of them swore the oath, few of the native Irish intended any real submission. The Pope, instigated by the Archbishop of Ardmach, transmitted an order, prohibiting both clergy and laity to acknowledge Henry's supremacy, and fixing his dreadful curse upon all such as had done it, unless they penitentially confessed their fault within forty days; and requiring them to swear to maintain and defend, to the utmost of their power, the supremacy of the Pope, in all things spiritual as well as temporal, and all the laws, liberties, and privileges of the Roman church against every opposer, and not to obey, but oppugn all edicts or commands of heretics, made in opposition to the church of Rome, and to hold all such as should obey them, however near relations or friends, ACCURSED.

Not long after, K. Edward VI. came to the throne in 1546, he transmitted orders to Ireland, which about five years before had been declared a *kingdom* instead of a *lordship*, that the Liturgy and prayers of the church, as now translated into English, should be used by the clergy there. St. Leger, the lieutenant, called an assembly of the clergy, and represented to them his Majesty's order, and the reasons of it. Dowdal of Cordmach still opposed, and at last withdrew, with all his suffragan bishops, except the Bishop of Meath. Brown of Dublin readily complied. Not long after, Edward not only required his deputy to propagate the worship of

God in the English language, but also to get the service translated into the Irish language, where the English was not understood. On Queen Mary's accession to the throne in 1553, the Popish religion was re-established. The married clergy were turned out, and Lancaster, bishop of Kildare, Travers of Leighlin, Bale of Ossory, and Casy of Limerick, being Protestants, left the country, and Popish prelates were installed in their room. But the rebellious Irish scarce allowed the governors any opportunity of persecuting the handful of heretics in that country.

Queen Elizabeth having succeeded her sister in 1558, a parliament meeting in the beginning of 1560, restored the Protestant religion to much the same condition it had been in during the reign of Edward VI. abolished the Pope's authority, repealed the statutes of Mary concerning heresy, and declared, That nothing should be held such, but what had been determined so by express scripture, or by the first four, or some other general councils,—nor any man held guilty of it, but on the deposition of two proper witnesses, restored the supreme jurisdiction, spiritual as well as temporal, to the crown, and required, that all persons in either civil or ecclesiastical offices, should take the oath of supremacy, under pain of losing his office; and enacted, That there be an uniformity in common prayer, as in England, and in the consecration of bishops and archbishops; that the first fruits or annats, and 20th part of spiritual benefices, be faithfully paid to the crown; that such as maintain the Pope's, or any foreign authority, over either church or state, should, for the first

offence, lose all his goods, or be imprisoned for a year, if he had not L.20 worth of goods, and also lose his benefice, if a clergyman; and should, for the second, incur a *premunire*; and for the third, incur the pains of high treason: that such as should speak against the Queen's right to the crown, should incur a *premunire*, and such as should write against it, be held guilty of treason. Another meeting of parliament, some years afterward, appointed, that as many of the ecclesiastical dignities were enjoyed by the bastards of the Popish dignitaries, who could not speak the English language, but had got in by force, simony, or the like, the lord lieutenant should, for ten years, have the sole nomination of the most of the inferior clergy in Munster and Connaught, that had not charge of souls, and none should be presented unless he were of full age, and in church orders, and could speak English, and would reside at his charge. They also enacted, That schools should be erected in all the shire-towns, by the direction of the bishop and sheriffs, and their salaries paid by the bishops and their clergy; and that the bishops of Ardmach, Dublin, Meath, and Kildare, should nominate English schoolmasters for their respective dioceses. Encouraged by Pope Pius's excommunication of Elizabeth, and his plenary indulgences granted to such as took up arms against her, and by the assistance of the Spaniards, the Irish Papists, more generally than formerly, brake out into an open rebellion against her, under the Earl of Tyrone, and others, which continued about twenty years.

The Spanish university of Valladolid having, it seems, informed the Irish Papists that they

ought not to obey or assist a Protestant king, it was not without difficulty that King James could be got proclaimed in Ireland, and notwithstanding the late submission of Tyrone, the cities of Cork, Waterford, Wexford, and many others, restored the Popish religion by force. The Papists sent over their commissioners to complain of the usage they had met with, whom James graciously received, and entertained with a long pedantic harangue, which not satisfying them, they appeared as ready to revolt from their benevolent friend, as they had from his haughty and excommunicated predecessor. Provoked with their behaviour, James was obliged to think of some new method of restraining them. Though the English had, for more than four hundred and thirty years, claimed the government of Ireland, no more than about a third or fourth part of it, in the provinces of Leinster and Munster, or counties of Lowth, Meath, Dublin, and Kildare, had really been subject to them. In the rest of the country, crimes could not be punished, or taxes levied, but by military force. And even within their PALE, the English inhabitants were often terribly harrassed by the Irish natives, in their neighbourhood. Ulster, the largest province of Ireland, having been possessed by the most rude and ungovernable part of the Irish, had, by means of Tyrone's obstinate and repeated rebellions, been rendered an almost desolate wilderness. James having attainted the rebels, seized on their lands, and ordered them to be distributed to such British Protestants, as could and would undertake rightly to plant them. The difficulties of planting that country, infested by wolves and other wild

beasts, and by still more barbarous Irish Papists, obliged both James and the undertakers to encourage both Scots and English to go thither. Being persecuted at home, not a few of the Presbyterians went thither from Scotland, and of the Puritans from England, in order to enjoy their liberty of worshipping God according to his own word. To encourage them, James granted full liberty of conscience to them, as well as he did afterward, to the planters of New-England. The chiefs of the established church were far more moderate and kind to the Puritans than their court-favoured brethren in Britain. Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, invited over Mr. Travers, who had been persecuted by Whitgift of Canterbury; and in 1592, made him provost of the newly erected college of that city. Messrs. Fullerton and Hamilton, two Scotch Presbyterians, the last of them tutor to the afterward famous bishop Usher, were two of the first fellows of that college. These gave several of the Irish doctors and dignitaries a tincture of Puritanism. The lord deputy, who had been a pupil of Cartwright at Cambridge, brought over Mr. Hubart, his fellow pupil, and fixed him minister at Carrickfergus. Sir John Clotworthy entertained Messrs. Ridge and Calvert, the first of whom was placed at Antrim, and the other at Carrickfergus. From Scotland, Messrs. Bryce came to Broad Island, Cunningham to Holywood, Dunbar to Learn, Welsh to Templepatrick, and afterwards Hamilton to Ballywater, Blair to Bangor, Stewart to Dunagor, and Livingstone to Killinshie, &c. &c. all of whom, though Presbyterians, enjoyed the established churches and tithes. Knox, bishop of Rapho,

and some others of his brethren, were so condescending as to require no more in the ordination of Presbyterian ministers, than that themselves should be present, *as ministers*, to make the deed legal, along with such others as the candidates pleased; and allowed all the passages of the form of ordination, at which these candidates scrupled, to be omitted. The bishops consulted them about affairs of common concern to the church, and some of them were members of the convocation in 1634. At the desire of the bishop of Down, Mr. Blair preached before the judges of assize on the Lord's day, before his curate administered the sacrament to them. They had no Presbyteries for the exercise of church discipline; but every minister with his session exercised it in his own congregation. Yet they had a monthly meeting at Antrim, in which they used to spend two days in praying, preaching, and religious conference, and in devising proper means for the further spread of the gospel, and extirpation of Popery. By their amazing diligence in praying, preaching, catechizing, visiting from house to house, observation of solemn fasts, and celebration of the Lord's Supper, the planters were remarkably reformed. Their communions, which they observed in each congregation, at least twice a year, were exceedingly crowded, and many thousands thereat converted to Christ. It is said, that about a thousand underwent that blessed change at one sacramental occasion. Their piety, peaceableness, and usefulness in reforming the people, made Archbishop Usher and his moderate brethren, and the civil governors of the country, approve, protect, and encourage them.

But no sooner had Laud become Bishop of London, and especially when advanced to be Primate of Canterbury, than he, by stirring up enemies against them, both in England and Ireland, laboured to ruin them, and so weaken the Protestant interest in that kingdom. Messrs. Livingston, Blair, Cunningham, Ridge, Bryce, Hamilton, and Calvert, were deposed by the bishop. They, and about 140 others, in the end of 1636, sailed about 400 leagues for New England, but by a dreadful storm were driven back to Ireland, from whence several of them soon after came to Scotland, and assisted in the remarkable reformation there, in 1638.

Hitherto the few Irish Protestants had contented themselves with a practical regard to the *Thirty-nine Articles* of the English church. But the Protestant religion being now somewhat established, their convocation in 1615, agreed, after the manner of other Protestant churches, to draw up a *Confession of Faith* of their own, which might at once manifest their principles, and mark their independence on the church of England. Usher, then provost of the college of Dublin, drew it up in one hundred and four articles, concerning the scriptures and creeds; God's nature, persons, purposes, and works of creation and providence; man's fall, and natural state of sin and misery; Christ's person and mediation; union with him in effectual calling; justification and faith; sanctification and good works; service and worship of God; power of civil magistrates; duty to neighbours; church, and her gospel ministry; church authority, general councils, and bishops of Rome; state of the Old and New Testament; sacraments, baptism and Lord's

Supper; state of departed souls,—resurrection,—and last judgment. In this Confession, (1.) The anti-Arminian articles of Lambeth, mentioned in our English history, are plainly incorporated. (2.) The morality of the Christian Sabbath is strongly asserted, and the spending of it wholly in religious exercises is required, *Art. 56.* (3.) The observation of Lent is declared not to be religious, but merely for promoting political advantages, *Art. 50.* (4.) The validity of ordination by presbyters is acknowledged, *Art. 71.* (5.) The power of the keys is said to be only declarative of the will of Christ, *Art. 74.* (6.) The Pope is declared Antichrist, *Art. 80.* (7.) Probably to avoid all distinguishing between bishops and priests, no mention is made of the consecration of archbishops or bishops. (8.) No power of making canons, or of censuring the infringers of them, is ascribed to the church. —These articles were approved by the Irish convocation and parliament, and ratified by his Majesty King James and his council. They appear to have been contrived to compromise the differences between the church and the Puritans; and they had that effect, till, by the influence of Archbishop Laud and the Earl of Strafford, they were set aside in 1634, and those of the Church of England adopted in their room.

King James had not a little indulged the Papists. Charles I. had no sooner come to the throne, and married a bigoted Papist, than they mightily increased, and became extremely bold and insolent,—being, as Bishop Bedell informed Laud, about nine parts of ten of the nation, and having priests settled in almost every parish, while the established clergy, not knowing their

language, were of little or no use in a great part of the island. When Lord Falkland the deputy, convened their chiefs at Dublin in 1626, for contributing towards the defence of their country against a Spanish invasion, they roundly told him that they would contribute nothing, unless they got an *authoritative toleration*, and liberty to build religious houses. This awakened the Protestant bishops to meet and form a solemn protestation, bearing, That, as the religion of Papists is superstitious and idolatrous, and their church apostatical, the granting of them a toleration would be exceedingly sinful, as it would involve the granters and approvers in an approbation of all the abominations of Popery, and in the perdition of these souls that perish thereby; and that to grant them it on account of money any way given by them, would be to set religion to sale, and with it the souls which Christ had redeemed by his blood. This was signed by Archbishop Usher, and eleven of his fellow-bishops, and presented to the lord deputy and council. This retarded their desired toleration. They nevertheless became more and more insolent, and erected public oratories, colleges, mass houses, and convents. Their Archbishops and other rulers, exercised their authority derived from Rome, and excommunicated such as appeared at the courts of the Protestant bishops, and even openly said mass in the established churches. Lord Falkland published a proclamation against their conduct, but without effect. In 1628, they obtained a toleration, in consideration of L. 120, to be paid to government within three years.

Archbishop Laud, being now Chancellor of

the University of Dublin, and having Strafford, the deputy, ready to assist him, insisted in the convocation 1634, that, for silencing the Papists' objection of the Protestants' diversity of principles, the *Thirty-nine Articles* of the English Church should be adopted as their ecclesiastical standard. The convocation inadvertently complied, and even made a canon, appointing, That whosoever should maintain that any of these Articles might not be subscribed by him with a good conscience, should be excommunicated.— Thus they denounced a sentence of excommunication against all the Puritans. They excluded their own Articles, which so plainly condemned Arminianism, and maintained the Pope's sanctification of the Christian Sabbath. This, together with the prosecution of the Presbyterian ministers above mentioned, by Bishop Bramhall and others, divided, weakened, and dispirited the Protestants, while it encouraged the Papists, in their hopes of speedily carrying all before them. No sooner had Strafford heard of the Scots Reformation, and their entering into covenant with God, in 1638, than he imposed an oath on all Scotch men and Scotch women, promising an unlimited obedience to all his Majesty's commands, and to enter into no oath or covenant without his authority, and to renounce all covenants contrary to this oath. The Dissenters generally refused this oath, because it was not imposed by the parliament;—they knew that his Majesty was bound, by his coronation oath, to rule his subjects according to the word of God and laws of the land. The allegiance, promised in it, was explained to them, as including an observation of all the ceremonies and

government of the church established, or to be established by his Majesty; they thought it absurd to swear, that they would not enter into a bond of mutual self-defence against the Papists without his Majesty's command; they saw that it was intended to disgrace or root the Scots out of Ireland, and bound the swearers to renounce and condemn the Scotch covenanters' protestations and covenants; they grudged, that it bound them never to resist the king or any commissioned by him; they liked it the worse, that an army of *eight thousand Irish Papists* were sent to force this oath upon them in Ulster, which obliged the refusers of it to flee into Scotland. This forced flight was made the mean of their preservation from the subsequent massacre, in which most of the compliers, not only lost their worldly substance, for the sake of which they had defiled their conscience, but their lives and the lives of their families.

Encouraged by Laud and Strafford, Bramhall and other high-flying bishops and clergymen, all along from 1634 to 1640, exceedingly distressed the Scotch, of whom there were then about an hundred thousand, and the English Puritans, in Ulster. In their petition for redress of grievances, presented to the English parliament in 1640, they complain, That even before they had so much as a pretended *Canon* for their warrant, some of the bishops had violently urged the observation of their ceremonies,—had silenced several of their most learned and faithful ministers, and oppressed others in their courts for non-compliance; that, in 1634, the convocation had made such canons, as enjoined many corruptions in the worship of God and government

of his church, and which exceedingly retarded the work of Reformation, encouraged Papists, and made way for many Popish superstitions; that their most painful, pious, and learned ministers had been silenced, deprived, nay, forced to flee the country, and afterward excommunicated, and some of them lost their lives; that while ignorant, lazy, erroneous, profane, and cruel men had been obtruded on them for ministers, others, for scrupling at the new ceremonies, or even merely for their holy lives, were kept out of office; that while faithful ministers were hindered from executing their office, or enjoying their benefice, bishops held many livings *in commendam*, and conferred four, five, or six livings on their children, or other favourites, who were no way capable to take care of souls, but hired some pitiful curates, as cheap as they could, while themselves were permitted to reside where they pleased; that while the bishops seldom preached themselves, they earnestly suppressed afternoon sermons on the Lord's day, and all weekly lectures, so that a lecturing minister is in more danger before them, than a Popish priest or trafficking Jesuit; that, to prevent faithful and pious scruplers at the ceremonies from being useful in teaching schools, they urged on schoolmasters a subscription beyond their *Canons*, and excommunicated such as refused it; that they favoured Popery, permitted Papists to keep schools, some of them so large as to resemble Universities, in which, not only languages, but also liberal sciences, were taught, and permitted multitudes of *mass priests* publicly to celebrate *mass*, and permitted *friaries* and *nunneries* in their dioceses; that the bishops pub-

lished or encouraged wicked libels, and used profane railleries and cursings, &c. to render the Scots and their late reforming procedure odious; that they practised and encouraged the selling of church censures and sacraments,—and by the most base means draw in gain to themselves from old superstitious customs,—and will not marry the poor, who cannot pay the dues, nor suffer their dead to be decently buried,—and excommunicated multitudes, for not payment of the most unjust or trifling demands; that, in their High Commission court, they sat judges in their own, and all other causes, and terribly oppressed men by fines and imprisonments, &c.; that they not only condemned the Scotch covenant of 1638, but had concurred with Strafford in imposing an oath for renouncing it, in consequence of which many thousands had been hunted out, apprehended, fined, or imprisoned, and even women, just before childbirth, seized, threatened, and terrified; that these bishops, and their faction, had unjustly seized upon the best lands, bereaving almost every gentleman of part of his inheritance; that, by their own swearing, cursing, drunkenness, and Sabbath-breaking, and by their having the most profane servants in the kingdom, they were a reproach to the gospel, and a stumbling block to the Papists.

In 1641, King Charles finding himself obliged to yield to the Scots, and not a little embroiled with his English parliament, by the instigation of his Queen, appears to have encouraged the Papists in Ireland to seize the government of that country, and then to assist him with an army against the Puritans in England, or Presbyterians in Scotland. Glad of this opportuni-

ty, the Papists, encouraged by their clergy, resolved on a general massacre of all the Protestants in the kingdom, without regard to station, age, sex, or relation. They laid their scheme and kept their secrets so well, that it was in a great measure out of the Protestants' power, who were but about a sixth part of the nation, if so much, to prevent the execution of it. It was discovered by Owen O'Conolly, an Irishman, who, being servant to Sir John Clotworthy, had become a Presbyterian dissenter; by means of which the seizure of Dublin was prevented, and the Scots in the north of Ireland were empowered to take arms against the Popish murderers; and the lords justices transmitted accounts of their desperate condition, unless they should be speedily relieved with men and money, to Charles and his English parliament. Notwithstanding his fair pretences, he, in many things, behaved like one that wished these Protestants utter destruction, and the Papists success in their work, and that was exceedingly averse to declare them rebels. Meanwhile, they pushed on their murdering work, in the end of October 1641, and afterwards. In the province of Ulster alone, 154,000 are said to have been destroyed in the cruellest forms. The day before the massacre began, the priests dismissed the people from mass with an encouragement to seize on the property of the Protestants, and to kill them, as a certain preservative against the pains of purgatory. When it began, the Popish gentry persuaded many of their Protestant neighbours to bring them their goods, and they would preserve them for them, and at least secure them a safe retreat from the country. Hav-

ing got their goods, they next stripped many of them, particularly women and children, stark naked, and turned them out to perish, amidst the frost and snow, by cold and hunger. So many thousands of them died, that the living being insufficient to bury them, their carcasses were heaped up together in large holes of the earth. Multitudes they sportfully drowned, hanged, or stabbed to death, even after they had given them promises of safe conduct, or had cruelly driven them along, pushing them forward with stabs of their swords or bayonets. Sometimes they dispatched them so quickly, by hewing them in pieces, or otherwise, that they would allow them no time to pray. Sometimes they shut them up in loathsome dungeons, with or without bolts or fetters on their legs, that they might languish to death in great misery. Others they buried alive, or hanged up on tenter hooks, or dragged them by ropes through waters, woods, or bogs. Others, particularly women or children, had their bellies ript up, and guts taken, or let fall out. The unborn babes that fell from their mother's belly, they trod under foot, gave to their dogs and swine to eat, or cast into ditches. Other infants they held upon the point of their swords, that their sprawling might divert them. Some they cruelly slashed in their heads, faces, breasts, &c. and then left them wallowing in their blood, to languish, starve, and pine to death. Others they shut up in houses, and sportfully burnt them in them; or they plucked out their eyes, and cut off their hands, and then turned them out to wander in the fields, till they perished. Some they decoyed to murder their own parents, or to profess themselves

Papists, and then cut their throats, or drowned them. Others they worried with dogs, or by ripping up their belly, tied one end of their tripes to a tree, and drove them round about it, till all their bowels were gradually pulled out. In these, and many similar forms, the Protestants were murdered. Many of their dead bodies were left unburied, and especially those of women, exposed and abused, in the most shameful manner, and had candles made of their grease. One Papist boasted that his hands were so wearied with killing Protestants, that he could not lift them to his head; another, that he had killed sixteen of them in a few hours; others, that they had killed so many, that the grease which stuck to their swords, might make an Irish candle. Nay, two boys boasted, that at several times they had murdered 36 women and children. The Popish women were no less ready to instruct, excite to, or assist their husbands and children in cruelty. Such Bibles as were found, were profanely trodden under foot, or otherwise destroyed. Such was the piety and humanity of the Papists, whom we have lately adopted as our *dear friends and children*.

Though the embroiled state of affairs in Britain not a little hindered their assisting of the Irish Protestants, yet the Scots, who took arms in the North, assisted by six thousand brave troops, from their mother country, repressed the Papists' power in Ulster, while the English troops, under Coots and Monk, gave them several rebuffs in Leinster, notwithstanding all that Owen Roe, their great general, who had come to their assistance, could do to prevent it. They who had a little before, in their convention, laboured

in planning a form of government for the kingdom, were, in 1643, disposed to offer their submission to Charles. A cessation of arms was agreed on, for a year, which neither pleased the zealous Protestants nor the bigoted Papists, the latter of whom paid little regard to it, but went on with their murdering work. The Popish chiefs represented to their Popish Queen, that if they could obtain a peace to their mind, they would assist Charles with ten thousand troops against his Parliament in England. In consequence hereof, not Ormond, lord lieutenant, who was too zealous for the Protestant church of England, but the Earl of Glamorgan, was by Charles empowered to conclude a secret treaty of peace with the Irish Papists, while Ormond and they were, for a sham, travelling to establish a public one. By this *private treaty*, the Papists had the free exercise of their religion, and all the churches which they had possessed since 1641, secured to them, and were fully freed from all the authority of the Episcopal church.

Notwithstanding these favours, the Irish were not so ready as Charles expected to send over their *ten thousand* troops to England, pretending that they had only bound themselves to assist in transporting them over by sea. Meanwhile, this secret treaty was discovered. Finding that both English and Scots were highly displeased with it, Charles, in his deceitful manner, disavowed the solemn commission which he had given to Glamorgan, and that nobleman was imprisoned by Ormond. The Presbyterians of Ulster, as well as the whole Protestants of Munster, declared themselves against this infamous

peace. Nor did the Irish Papists take care to fulfil the conditions of it. While Duke Hamilton, and his party in Scotland, projected their relieving of King Charles in 1648, without any limitations of his power, Ormond, by the instigation of the Queen and Prince of Wales, now in France, concluded a peace with the Papists, bearing, that they should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and enjoy all churches and livings which they now possessed, and all jurisdiction respecting them, without being required to swear the *oath of supremacy* to the King; that a parliament be held within six months, or whenever after the Papists desire; that all laws and indictments of Papists shall be vacated; that Papists shall be admitted members of parliament, and enjoy all honours, trusts, and employments equally as Protestants; that not only shall every thing done by Papists in the time bypast, be passed in oblivion, but such of them as have had their estates taken from them, or wronged by grants, since king James came to the throne, shall have their grievances redressed, and losses refunded: that his majesty shall grant whatever is necessary to Papists. Charles himself, in a letter to Ormond, but which came not to his hand, till after the treaty was finished, disavowed it. Ormond however, probably by private directions from the King or Queen, made twelve Papists sharers with him in his authority, that he could neither levy soldiers, nor raise money, nor erect garrisons, without the consent of a majority of them.

No wonder that the true Protestants in Britain and Ireland were highly dissatisfied with this treaty, since by it these bloody murderers,

who had filled their skirts with the innocent blood of about two hundred thousand Protestants, and by rapine, treachery, and cruelty, had laid waste a flourishing kingdom, during the last seven years, were not only pardoned, but well rewarded for their work; and their idolatrous and wicked religion had such security given it, as it had never before received in Ireland. The number of these malcontents in Ireland was greater than could have been well expected. In 1641, the most of the Episcopalian clergy were either murdered, or had fled into England. The Scots not only sent over ministers with their troops in 1642, but afterwards, on applications from Ireland, sent over, in different years, a considerable number of Presbyterian ministers, who laboured with remarkable success in the work of the Lord. Not a few who had fled from Strafford's persecution returned to Ireland, as soon as the Scotch inhabitants and troops had almost cleared Ulster of the Popish massacrers. These all, with great zeal, avowed their adherence to the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government represented by the Assembly of Westminster in the standards which they compiled, and entered into the *solemn league and covenant*, for the perpetual maintenance thereof. The English parliament required the rest of the Protestants in Ireland to do the same, according to their ordinance for that effect, in the kingdom of England; in obedience to which, not a few took it. Few of these covenanters, perhaps above an hundred thousand in all, but were highly dissatisfied with the late *treaty of peace*.

During the preceding years, Ormond had laboured to gain over the parliament's party in

Ireland, particularly their military commanders Jones, Coots, Monk, &c. but without success. He now laboured to unite the several parties in the kingdom for Charles II. who, from the Hague, had written him a letter confirming the late peace, and continuing him lord lieutenant of Ireland. He had no success with Jones, Coots, and other parliamentarians. But he had more success with the Scots of Ulster, who, like their fellow Presbyterians in Britain, were many of them infatuated in favour of their royal family, and easily imposed upon by Charles and his agents' fair pretences. Sir John Clotworthy's regiment laid down their arms, rather than enter into an army with malignants and Popish confederates: but these under the Lord of Ards, as well as those commanded by Monro, who had just returned from Scotland, whither he had gone to assist in the Hamiltonian engagement,—joined Ormond, and turned their arms against their fellow covenanters, and took Belfast and Carrickfergus. As the Irish Presbyterians had renewed their covenant with God, about the end of 1648, Messrs. Greig of Carrickfergus, and Cunningham of Broad island, and other ministers, reflected on those that had joined with Ormond and his Popish confederates,—they were therefore threatened by both Scotch and Irish officers, and obliged to flee for their safety. This alarming the people, the Lord of Ards, now Viscount and Commander of all his Majesty's forces in the province of Ulster, published a *declaration*, representing the reasons of his conduct, and many fair promises to take care of their religion and liberties, to the utmost of his power, as soon as the parliament's forces should be dri-

ven out. The presbytery of Bangor, in July 1649, published a *counter declaration*, in which they testify against all compliance with the sectaries on the one hand, or with Ormond and his malignants and Papists on the other, but patiently to suffer rather than sin,—and faithfully expose the deceit of Ard's proclamation, and warn all that wish to be faithful to their covenant with God, to give him and his party no countenance,—as the righteous vengeance of God would quickly overtake them; which indeed it did, within about a month after, by the parliament's army. Ormond had no success with the bigoted Papists, who were headed by the Pope's nuncio, and who sometimes assisted the parliamentarians against him: but they at last obliged him to retire to France, and leave the Earl of Clanrickard general of his Majesty's army and lieutenant of Ireland in his room. Charles's renunciation of his confirmation of the peace, and his approbation of the Scotch covenant, and professed resolution to hold the friends or enemies of it, for his friends or enemies, made the Irish Papists lay aside their intentions to push him into his throne. They then entered into an agreement with Charles IV. Duke of Lorrain, to accept of him as their Sovereign: but their dissatisfaction with Clanrickard, and the parliament's forces taking their towns one after another, put a stop to it. Their conquest of the country being finished in May 1652, Fleetwood, Ludlow, Corbet, Jones, and Weaver, Esquires, were appointed by the English parliament to command the army, and to govern the nation in their name. High courts of justice were erected at Dublin, before which Sir Phelim O'Neal,

the chief manager of the massacre, and about one hundred and fifty others of these murderers, were tried, condemned, and executed.

During the following eight years, the Popish interest was lower than ever it had been in Ireland, since its first introduction into it. Multitudes, perhaps above an hundred thousand of them, fled into France and Spain. Such as remained were generally pent up in Connaught, the western province of that island, while their estates in other places were parcelled out among the conquering troops, and other adventurers. Their very name was reckoned detestable. Independents, Anabaptists, and others from England, went thither; and while they laboured in propagating the gospel of Christ, had the peculiar countenance of the government. The zeal of the Presbyterian clergy for the royal family exposed them to manifold hardships. Immediately after the execution of King Charles I. they published a *declaration* against the actors of it as *traitors* and *murderers*, from all their pulpits, and warned their people to beware of owning their authority. When Colonel Venables came to their country, they continued to testify against the usurpations of the sectaries, and to pray publicly for the restoration of Charles II. to his throne.—Many of them were therefore imprisoned, or forced to flee their houses, and walk disguised, and to preach in the fields or hills. As they and their people, when before the council of war at Carrickfergus, unanimously refused to take the *Engagement* against kingly government, an act of banishment was passed against the ministers, because they kept alive the interest of

the King among the people, and reproached those in power, as treacherous to his Majesty, and breakers of covenant. No persuasion could prevail with them to present any addresses to Cromwel, when the most of the three nations did it. They would never pray for him, nor his underlings, or read the causes of their fasts or thanksgivings, or observe their days of humiliation, because they could not own them as magistrates. No encouraging offers or affrighting threatenings of Cromwel or his fellow usurpers could detach them from their loyalty to the really profligate, but as yet masked Charles. During their troubles, these Presbyterian ministers were not a little useful, in winning many souls to Christ.

No sooner did the motions for Charles's restoration to his throne begin to gain ground, than the Presbyterian ministers of Ireland, like their infatuated brethren in Britain, pushed it on with all their might. At first, Charles entertained them with fair words, and a promise of L. 600 Sterling to these ministers that survived, and to their widows who had died before his restoration, as a reward of their attachment to him, during the ten preceding years. But he was no sooner fixed on his throne than he and his agents, having restored Episcopacy, and indulged Popery, expelled them from their churches, and persecuted them, as well as the Independents and Anabaptists, to their utmost, as circumscribed by their indulgence. It is probable they had been more cruelly handled, had it not been for giving some colour to the court-indulgence practically granted to Papists. These very men,

who had complied in every thing with Cromwel and his sectaries, now reproached them as disloyal and treacherous. Most of the Papists that had retired to France or Spain now returned. They and their brethren expected, that, as Charles had been bred up in their religion, and had not long before solemnly professed himself a member of their church, they would enjoy the favours granted by the treaty of 1648 above-mentioned, and every one of them have his lands restored to him, which had been given to soldiers or undertakers, for the expence of the war, by Cromwel's settlement. The English parliament supported Cromwel's settlement in this matter, and ordered such lands only to be restored to the Papists, as had any flaw in the conveyance. The determination of these disputed claims occasioned no small contention between the Papists and Protestants. In consequence of the Papists' insolence, the English parliament, in 1677, petitioned his Majesty, That he would maintain the *act of settlement of property* in Ireland, and recal his Commission of inquiry granted January last, because it includes new powers tending to invalidate that settlement, and to occasion many unnecessary law-suits; that he would order that no Papist be continued, or hereafter admitted to be any kind of judge in that kingdom; that he would command all the Popish archbishops, particularly Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, and other dignitaries, who exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the Pope's authority, to depart out of Ireland, and all other his dominions; and that all convents, and other Popish seminaries of learning, should be dissolved; that

no Irish Papist be allowed to dwell in any part of the kingdom, without special licence; and that he would recal his letter of 1672, and the order of council founded thereon, which require, That none prosecute any of the Irish for any thing committed during the last rebellion. But this no way hindered the increase of Popery. The Popish plot in England, which happened soon after, occasioned some severe orders against them: but their influence was quickly suspended.

JAMES II. had no sooner ascended the throne in 1685, than his Popish brethren in Ireland hoped to carry every thing before them, and, in about three or four years, committed more insolencies upon the English, than these had done upon them in five hundred years past. They did all they could to inform against such Protestants as they suspected to be ill affected to James, with respect to their words, deeds, or meetings. The Duke of Ormond resigned his sword of state to the Archbishop of Ardmach and the Earl of Granard, though the chief power was really vested in the Earl of Tyrconnel, who, being lieutenant of the army, modelled his troops so as might best answer his master's designs. He was soon after advanced to be lord lieutenant. In that station he acted in the most arbitrary and despotic manner. He turned the English Protestants out of the army, in the most reproachful and afflicting manner he could. By frequently changing the seven or eight thousand standing troops, he got five times that number taught the use of their arms. He issued forth

Quo Warrantos against all the charters of the nation at once, in order to subvert the corporations, and secure a Popish parliament. Popish judges were appointed in each court. Papists were also appointed high sheriffs, and justices of peace, and members of privy council, so that they were able to rule all wherever they came.—James had not long retired to France, from before his son-in-law, who invaded his kingdom, in order to rescue it from his tyrannical oppressions, when he landed from thence in Ireland, with about two thousand staunch British and Irish Papists to support his interests. As King William had greatly overlooked the circumstances of Ireland, and Colonel Hamilton had treacherously deserted him, and reduced his friends in that country to the very brink of destruction, James had here the most promising appearances in his favour. All the kingdom, except Ulster, being in obedience to him. Tyrconnel had ready for him an army of about forty thousand horse and foot. Had James taken the advice of Claverhouse and others of his friends, to transport his powerful army to Britain, he might have shook, if not overturned the unsettled authority of his son-in-law.—But he chose first to make himself master of every corner of Ireland. He therefore besieged the remains of the Protestant troops in Londonderry. Notwithstanding the cowardice, or treachery of Lundie their commander, and the villainy of General Kirk, in not making due haste to relieve them,—and notwithstanding the dreadful famine they suffered in the siege, they held out against the enemy. Rosen, a French General under James, provoked

by the valour of the besieged, now reduced to skeletons with hunger, caused his troops to burn every house for ten miles around, and to bring all the inhabitants, men, women, and children to him. These, to the number of six or seven thousand, he drove with drawn swords under the walls of the city, threatening the besieged, That if they did not surrender the place, within ten days, he would put every one of these poor people to the sword before their eyes. This horrid device shocked the besiegers, and animated the besieged with a furious valour. After these poor creatures had continued two days without any food, such as were able were permitted to go away; but the destruction or plunder of all that had belonged to them, rendered them absolutely miserable.—After that about seven thousand of the besieged had perished with hunger and otherwise, and these that remained were sunk with fatigue, and had no more than provision for two days, they offered to capitulate. Hereon, Kirk making a bold attempt to throw in some provisions, sent up the river three victualling ships, with a man of war to protect them. By warmly discharging her guns on the batteries, which the enemy had planted on the sides of the river, the war-ship drew their fire on herself. Meanwhile, the foremost of the victuallers having a favourable gale of wind, pushed forward with such force, as to break the strong iron boom, which King James had laid across the river, but ran herself a-ground by the violence of the stroke, to the inexpressible grief of the besieged, and joy of the besieging beholders. But, in a few minutes, by the rebound of her own dis-

charged guns, she got off, and, along with her two followers, got safe into the harbour. James and his Papists raised the siege next day, after continuing it about three months and an half. His army, under Schomberg, being unsuccessful, King William came over himself to command them,—and by his own victory at the river Boyne, and General Ginkle's at Agrim, and the taking of Limerick, just when the French fleet were ready to relieve it, finished the war. The Limerickers obtained for themselves and their fellow Papists very advantageous conditions, that without taking any other but the oath of allegiance, they should enjoy the same freedom of exercising their religion, and the same title to their civil property, as under King Charles II. Their repeated insolence, occasioned by the commissioner's management of the forfeited estates, prompted the parliament of 1703, to restrict this act, and to appoint, That all the estates of Papists should be equally divided among their children, unless that he to whom they were left, took the *sacramental test*, and joined in the *communion of the Established Church*. But this act hath been lately repealed.

The Protestant Dissenters, Presbyterians, Independents, and others, had an authoritative toleration granted them by King William's first Parliament. Some of the established bishops exceedingly grudged them this liberty, and the rather, that their number was about double to that of the established church. Messrs. Boyse and M'Bride, two of the most bold and faithful Dissenting ministers, had their share of troublesome prosecution, on account of some free speeches they were said to have uttered against Episco-

pacy and its superstitious connexions. By means of influence from England, Queen Anne's first Parliament imposed the *sacramental test* on the Dissenters, as a condition of their admission to any share in the government. What trouble any of them endured for refusing this, or the *oath of abjuration* imposed about the same time, I know not. Meanwhile, Emlyn, who had learned the Arian tenets in England, came over, and for eleven years was assistant to Mr. Boyse at Dublin, where he secretly spread them. Notwithstanding all his subtilty, he was at last detected by Mr. Boyse, and obliged to return to England, where, till about 1737, he assisted Dr. Clark and Jackson to impugn the true divinity of Jesus Christ, in opposition to Dr. Waterland and his orthodox assistants. But the infection which he had introduced, continued, and even spread among the Dissenters in Ireland, and occasioned no small contention. Between 1720 and 1730, the Synod of Ulster, in seven several meetings, had very warm disputations concerning the propriety of requiring candidates for the ministerial office, to declare their adherence to the Westminster or any similar *Confession of Faith*, by subscription or otherwise. Many other Dissenting clergymen, who detested the Arian blasphemies, became tainted with Baxterian and Arminian errors, attended with not a little looseness of practice. Offended herewith, not a few of their Presbyterian hearers, soon after the *deposition* of the Seceding ministers in Scotland, by the Assembly 1740, applied to them for the supply of evangelical preaching and other ministrations; in consequence of which, there are now about

fifty or sixty Seceding congregations in that kingdom, especially in the province of Ulster. Of about four and twenty hundred thousand inhabitants in Ireland, it is said, that about two-thirds only are now professed Papists, and the other eight hundred thousand Protestants. But, I fear, scarce the half of these deserve the Protestant name.

A
BRIEF SKETCH
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PROTESTANT CHURCHES
IN
AMERICA.

CHAPTER XII.

History of American Churches, in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, West Indies—Seceders in America.

IT is probable, that America was, for the most part, peopled from the eastern parts of Asia. But, when Columbus, in A. D. 1492, first discovered that country, there did not appear in it the smallest vestiges of the Gospel of Christ; nor did the Spaniards' murdering of about fifty millions of the inhabitants, in the least instruct them in, or

attach them to it. Elizabeth and James's cruel persecution of the English Puritans obliged part of them to flee to Holland, and afterwards to America, where they landed in the country, since called New England. Finding that their Independent congregation was like to dwindle to nothing in Holland, part of Mr. Robinson's people, after a solemn fast, and much fervent prayer, first set sail for America, in two ships, and, after terrible distress by the way, occasioned by the treachery of the shipmasters and the bad weather, they at last, in November 1620, arrived, to the number of about an hundred, having lost one of their ships. In the place to which Providence directed them, contrary to their own inclinations, God had prepared room for them, by a plague, which, in the preceding year, had carried off about nine-tenths of the inhabitants.—But the fatigue of their voyage, and the severity of the winter, cut off not a few of them. Some others of them were killed by the savage natives. It was not till midsummer that supply came to them from England. The season being very untoward, their first crop was bad. Contentions, kindled by incendiaries among themselves, added to their misery. In expectation of Mr. Robinson and the rest of his congregation following them, they had no minister among them for eight years; but Mr. Brewster, who had been ruling elder of their church at Leyden, preached, visited and examined them; and, at their weekday meetings, some of the elder brethren prayed and expounded some portion of Scripture to the rest. Hearing of Mr. Robinson's death, they, in 1629, chose and ordained for their pastor, one Mr. Ralph Smith, by fasting and laying on of

the hands of the elders. Except their placing the supreme government of the church in the community of the faithful, under Christ, and holding every particular congregation for an entire Christian church, independent of their Presbytery or Synod, their principles were the same with those contained in the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, *Directory for Worship*, and *Form of Church Government*. They admitted such as were communicants in the French, Dutch, and Scotch churches, to communion with them.

In 1625, Mr. Conant and his friends, instigated by Mr. White of Dorchester, retired to America, and in 1627 got a royal patent for so much of the country. They, after some consultation and solemn covenanting with God and with one another, to avouch the Lord for their God, and to walk soberly, righteously, and godly before him; and to be obedient to their superiors in both church and state; and to train up their children and servants in the knowledge and fear of the Lord—joined together, and chose Mr. Skelton for their pastor, Mr. Higginson for their teacher, and Mr. Houghton for their ruling elder—who were ordained to their offices by prayer and laying on of the hands of these appointed to represent the brethren. Meanwhile, some Prelatists, and one Christopher Gardiner, a disguised Papist, gave them some trouble, and misrepresented them in England. Messrs. Wilson, Cotton, Hooker, Stone, Mather, and seventy-two other ministers, who had fled from the persecution in England, had all settlements, and some of them numerous flocks of the persecuted people, who had come along with them, as early

as 1641. About twenty others had not got settlements, or had been turned out for their ill behaviour, or for their Episcopalian and Anabaptist principles. The *Harvard college*, for the education of youth in all the liberal arts, was erected at Newtown, or Cambridge, about six or eight miles from Boston, and soon after furnished with a valuable library. Meanwhile, their state had no small trouble with the Indian savages in their neighbourhood, and their church no less with the Antinomian and Familistical errors that sprung up among them. The male members of the church at Boston used to meet once a-week to repeat the sermons they had heard on the Lord's day, and to debate on their contents. As none of the women were allowed to mingle in these debates, some of them resolved on having separate meetings of their own. Mrs. Hutchinson having set up one at her house, had soon *sixty* or *eighty* women at her weekly meeting, to hear her pray, and repeat and explain Mr. Cotton's sermons. Under pretence of exalting the free grace of God, she taught her disciples, that believers in Christ are personally united with the Holy Ghost; that commands to work out our salvation with fear and trembling, belong only to unbelievers; that sanctification is not a sufficient evidence of a gracious state; that believers have immediate revelations concerning future events, as infallible as the Scriptures themselves, &c. The women readily embraced these notions, and insinuated them into their husbands, as the doctrines of Mr. Cotton. Such as continued otherwise minded, were reproached as legalists; and the old ministers were starved away, and

mechanics set up in their room. Violent struggles were made to have new-fashioned gospel-
 lers for the only magistrates, and officers in their
 armies. Mrs. Hutchinson's modest behaviour
 before Mr. Cotton, and his too charitable opinion
 of her, rendered him too tardy in opposing her
 seductions. But, both church and state being
 like to be thereby ruined, a Synod for consulta-
 tion and advice, composed of ministers, and mes-
 sengers of the churches, and some magistrates,
 was held at Newtown, in August 1637. During
 three weeks, and after hearing all that the An-
 tinomians could say, about eighty of their opi-
 nions were unanimously condemned; excepting
 that Mr. Cotton differed, at least in words, from
 his brethren, on three or four of them. But Mrs.
 Hutchinson and her followers so insolently op-
 posed the determination of the Synod, that it
 was found necessary for both church and state
 to exert themselves in repressing them.

The civil war breaking out in England, the
 Puritans got liberty at home; and the colonies
 of New England, for twenty years, instead of
 receiving new recruits, lost a number of their
 gentlemen, together with Messrs. Samuel Ma-
 ther, Giles Furmin, Hugh Peters, and nine other
 ministers, who returned to England. The plan-
 ters, who had already built fifty towns and vil-
 lages, and thirty or forty churches, &c. resolved
 to seize on the Islands on the coast, and propa-
 gate the Gospel among the natives. They also
 granted three of their ministers to the Virgi-
 nians. But the governor ordered them to leave
 the country, unless they would conform to the
 English ceremonies. A war with the Indians
 quickly issued in a treaty of peace, and in a more

close confederation of the four colonies of New England. About 1646, Mr. Elliot, in the province of Massachusetts, and Mr. Mayhew in Martha's Vineyard, applied themselves to the instruction of the Indians, with amazing assiduity and zeal, and were instrumental in converting several thousands of them to Christ. Elliot translated the *Bible*, *Catechisms*, and some other practical books into the language of his Indians. The English Parliament, 1649, established a corporation of sixteen for the propagation of the Gospel in New England, and appointed a collection for that purpose, which enabled the society to purchase an estate of five or six hundred pounds Sterling yearly rent. Bedinfield, a Papist, from whom they bought it, after Charles's restoration seized upon it; but the society, now increased to the number of forty-five, with no small trouble, recovered it—with the rent of which, and with the large collections gathered in New England, they have been sometimes able to maintain ten missionaries, and to erect schools, and educate Indian children. It is to be lamented, that, for some time past, part of the money is too readily applied for supporting naughty Episcopalian ministers in that country; and that any American missionaries that appear bent on winning souls to Christ, are so much opposed and discouraged by the English planters and merchants.

The second Synod of New England met at Cambridge in 1648, and approved the *Westminster Confession of Faith*. Their chief work was to frame a *Platform of Church Discipline*. In this they assert, that all the parts of church government are exactly described in the Word of God, and no man may add, diminish, or alter any

thing in it; that even circumstances of time and place, must be regulated by the apostolical prescription of *doing all things decently and in order*; that the catholic church comprehends all elected and redeemed men; that though the state of the visible, militant church, under the law, was national, it is now under the Gospel, only congregational; that a congregational church consists of a company of saints by calling united into one body by an holy covenant, for the public worship of God and mutual edification of one another in the fellowship of Christ; or consists of such as understand the principles of religion, profess their repentance and faith in Christ, and walk in blameless obedience to all his commands; that every particular church has a ministry appointed for its particular service, and no other, and the members ought never to be more than can conveniently meet in one place, nor fewer than can carry on church work; that the form of a particular visible church, is that covenant by which they give up themselves to the Lord Christ, to observe his ordinances in the same society; that all believers ought to join themselves, as they have opportunity, to some particular church, that they may profess their subjection to the order and ordinances of the Gospel; that the supreme power over the church belongs to Christ, power of office to the eldership, and power of privilege and appointing to office to the brotherhood; that church officers are appointed by Christ as necessary to the well-being of his church, 'till the end of the world—and are either extraordinary, as apostles, prophets, evangelists, or ordinary, as elders teaching and ruling, and deacons; that pastors and teachers are distinct officers, but both are to ad-

minister sacraments and church censures ; that ancient widows ought to minister in the church, in attending on the sick ; that none should be ordained officers in the church without sufficient trial, and the power of election as well as deposition is in that particular church in which they serve ; that the church ought not only to choose, but, by laying on of hands, ordain their officers ; that *election* constitutes one a church officer, and *ordination* doth but solemnly admit him to his work. The laying on of hands is to be performed by the elders of that church, or other elders desired by them, or by some of the brethren chosen for that purpose ; that if any officer be discharged from his office in his own church, he may not exercise it in any other, until he be again called to office, and be re-ordained ; that the power granted to the brotherhood, lies in their admitting members, choosing and deposing officers, and in determining differences—and the power of the elders, to feed and rule the church, convene them on proper occasions, preside and keep order in debates, examine officers and members in order to admission, receive accusations, pronounce sentences, and bless the people in the name of the Lord ; that, as it is the duty of people decently to support their ministers, deacons and magistrates ought to see to their doing it ; that in order to admission to be church members, they be examined concerning their faith and repentance, and profess the same—but if they be unable to declare the work of God on their souls before the church, it may suffice to do it before the elders, who may relate it before the church ; that members may not remove from any particular church without her consent, unless where

duty, safety, or subsistence render it absolutely necessary ; that in offences originally private, one is only to be excommunicated, if obstinately deaf to private dealings and admonition of the church ; but if the offence be of a very heinous and public nature, he is to be excommunicated at once ; that excommunication doth not deprive men of their civil offices or rights, nor exclude them from hearing the word or occasional admonitions ; that none should withdraw from the communion of the church, because some disorderly persons cannot be removed out of it ; that sister churches should care for, consult with, admonish, and hold occasional fellowship with one another ; and when a church becomes too numerous, it ought to form another of such members as are willing to remove ; that Synods, composed of elders and messengers of churches, are very often necessary to the well-being of churches—to debate and determine controversies of faith and cases of conscience—to give directions from the word of God in worship and government—and to bear witness against corruption of manners and mal-administration—but they are not to inflict any censure, or make any authoritative act ; that such Synods may be called, either by the churches themselves, or by the magistrate ; that magistrates may not compel their subjects to become church members, or partake of sacraments, nor meddle with any work proper to church officers ; that magistrates ought to restrain and punish not only dishonesty, murder, and the like, but also idolatry, blasphemy, heresy, open profanation of the Sabbath, contempt of the word, or disturbance of the worship of God, or even schismatical disturbance of churches.

Some of these rules have been long disused. Ministers have administered the sacraments to vacant churches; only the neighbouring ministers lay on hands at ordinations. None are required publicly to declare the work of God upon their soul; and ruling elders are generally dropped. For supporting religion and virtue of every kind, a set of the most excellent civil laws were gradually established.

Some falling into the Anabaptist opinions, about 1650, and setting up a separate meeting, gave both the churches and magistrates no small trouble, and loaded them with plenty of contempt. Some of the Quakers arriving from England, in 1656, were still more troublesome; nor could the cutting off of their ears, or banishment, restrain their seditious conduct. Two of them were put to death, on account of their obstinate refusal to comply with their sentence of banishment. This drew upon the magistrates a torrent of obloquy, and obliged them to publish a vindication of themselves, which was not universally approved. The magistrates therefore resolved to execute no more of the turbulent Quakers, but to whip them, as vagabonds, out of their jurisdiction. King Charles also transmitted an order, in 1661, that put an end to the prosecution of Quakers for their public blasphemies and profanities, such as women's running naked through the streets, or into assemblies met for worship, and abusing and threatening magistrates, &c.

As the ministers baptized none but the children of their own members, many children, of such as had not joined themselves to any church, remained unbaptized, there arose a warm debate, whether children had a right to baptism

by their grandparents being church members, though their immediate parents had never entered into communion? A Synod met, by order of the magistrates, to consider this question. They were mostly of opinion, that the children of church members are under the care and government of the church, and liable to her censures, though not admittable to the Lord's Supper, or to have their children baptized, till they have solemnly joined themselves to the church; but if they appeared to have been properly qualified, but were hindered by death, or some other extraordinary providence, from publicly joining themselves to a church, their children were to be baptized. This decision was not a little opposed, especially by Davenport, who succeeded the pious and peaceable Mr. Wilson, at Boston. In this same year, 1662, fourteen ministers, who had been driven from their charges in England, came over hither, and laboured in the work of the Lord, in place of those that had come over above twenty years before, most of whom were now dead.

An uncommon meteor in the form of a spear, and some other incidents, stirred up the magistrates, in 1668, to issue an exhortatory letter to the ministers, begging of them to be more and more diligent in their visitation of families, and in training up of the youth—which, by the blessing of God, proved effectual for the restraining of vice and immorality—and for keeping alive the dying power of religion among the rising generation. The severity of the magistrates against the Anabaptists, who had gathered one church at Boston, and another at Swanzeey, drew a remonstratory letter from Drs.

Goodwin, Owen, and eleven others of the Independent clergy in England; but it had but little effect. Some few of the Quakers being punished for their disorderly practices, their *friends* in England presented a remonstrance to the King and Parliament, in which they, without any regard to truth, exceedingly aggravated their sufferings. Eleven of the principal Presbyterian, Independent, and Anabaptist ministers, also wrote a letter to a minister of Boston in their favour. After all, the Quakers, then and since, had no reason to complain of severities, but what they drew upon themselves, by refusing to pay the fines imposed for not attending the military exercises on four training days a-year, with arms and ammunition, or not assisting in the military watches kept in the towns, or not paying the stipends annexed to the estates which they held. They wanted to enjoy the protection of government, but refused to do any thing for the support of it.

For about forty years, the people of New England had met with little disturbance from their Indian neighbours: but at last, in 1675, a most bloody war with Philip, king of the Wompanoags, commenced, and continued almost two years, till Philip was betrayed and killed. In this war, the Christianized Indians proved remarkably faithful in assisting the English. No sooner was the war ended, than the people gave over their solemnities of fasting and prayer, and many began to grow intolerably licentious in their morals.—Pride, intemperance, swearing, Sabbath-breaking, and covetousness came to an uncommon height. The general court of the Massachussets called a Synod to meet at Boston, for preventing the further growth of this impie-

ty and profaneness. They agreed, That ministers and magistrates, in their different stations, should labour to their utmost, in order to reform the country from these vices ; and they recognized and confirmed their fore-mentioned *Platform of Church Discipline*.

After New-Hampshire had been separated from the Massachussets, by the influence of one Mason, who quickly employed, in his new government, persons mean, base, or of desperate fortunes, who assisted him in oppressing the people, King Charles, in 1683, took their charters from the colonies of Massachussets, Plymouth, and Connecticut, while that of Rhode-Island peaceably submitted to his pleasure. Thus the whole country had their ancient constitution destroyed, and was made absolutely dependent on the crown of England. This, with another Indian war of ten, or rather fourteen, years continuance, and the cruel oppressions of Ardross their governor, brought the country to the brink of ruin. But King William coming to the British throne, the people took arms against their oppressors, and got themselves re-established in their wonted privileges, excepting that the king, in their new charter, reserved for himself the appointment of their principal governors, and for his governor, the whole power of the militia, and of appointing justices and sheriffs with the consent of his council, together with a negative upon all laws, elections, and acts of government, of the general assembly and council ; and all laws made by the General Assembly, and approved by the governor, were to be transmitted to his Majesty for his approbation. The colonies were far from being pleased with these encroachments

on their liberties, but judged it best to submit. About the same time, their ministers of the Independent and Presbyterian persuasions, having considered the *Articles of Agreement* between their English brethren of these denominations, in 1690, adopted the same, and have ever since lived together in considerable peace and friendship, upon the footing thereof.

Dreadful was the distress of New England in 1692, for while the French and Indians were ravaging the frontiers, the inhabitants were hanging one another for suspected witchcrafts and sorceries. The daughter and niece of the Reverend Mr. Paris of Salem, girls about ten years of age, suddenly began to play unaccountable pranks, and to fall into convulsion fits, and to be struck dumb, and have their mouth and limbs strangely distorted, and to complain of being bitten and pinched by invisible agents, and particularly of being pinched, pricked, and tormented by an Indian woman that lived in the house, and two other women in the town. As the physicians could not account for the distemper, it was soon blazed abroad, that they were bewitched; and Mr. Paris kept several days of fasting and prayer on their account. The women accused, were called before the magistrate, examined, and imprisoned. The Indian, frightened out of her wits, and forcibly instigated by her master, confessed herself to be guilty, and accused the other women as her partners in the withcraft. The contagion, like a pestilence, spread through several parts of the province, till the prisons could scarcely contain the number of the *accused*. The *afflicted* had their bodies horribly distorted, pinched black and blue, blisters raised

upon them, or pins run into them. They pretended to see the shapes of the persons who tormented them, while others around did not. Probably part of these afflicting appearances were counterfeited, but I cannot possibly conceive how they all could be so, or produced by natural causes. The witnesses deponed many odd things respecting the *accused*. As they that confessed themselves *witches* or *wizards*, and accused others, were ordinarily spared, no doubt severals were hereby, as well as by the confounding tediousness of their examinations, and sometimes tortures, led to confess themselves guilty when they were not. An assembly of ministers, summoned by the governor in June, declared themselves of opinion, That, considering the power and craft of Satan, apparitions of persons afflicting others, or alterations made on the afflicted by a look or touch of the accused, were no proofs of their being witches; and that a good name obtained by a good life, ought not to be forfeited by mere *spectral* accusations:—but this declaration was too little regarded. Twenty-eight were condemned to death, and nineteen of them executed, all of whom died protesting their innocence. The number of the *confessing witches*, who accused others to save themselves, now amounting to fifty, and the *afflicted* overdoing their part, people began to fear every one for himself and his friends. They who had, a little before, been in danger of being torn to pieces by the mob, or had been put to death, especially such as had died with remarkable appearances of seriousness, were universally pitied. Prosecutions were stopped, and about one hundred and fifty relieved from their impri-

sonment. One of the judges, and the twelve jurymen, publicly acknowledged their mistakes in the prosecution. Mr. Paris, who had begun and zealously promoted it, acknowledged his sin, and begged pardon of God and men; but nothing less than his removal from them would satisfy his congregation. It was certainly faulty that the *accusers* were not strictly tried, and brought to condign punishment.

Since the beginning of this century, except as to a gradual decay of the power, and even of the appearances of religion, the church in New England has continued on much the same footing. Independents, connected with half Presbyterians, compose their established church: but Episcopalians, Anabaptists, and Quakers, are freely tolerated. By the ministrations of Messrs. Jonathan Edwards, George Whitefield, Gilbert Tennent, and others, very remarkable impressions were made on the souls, and even on the bodies of multitudes, in 1736 and 1740. This many highly extolled as an extraordinary work of the Spirit of God, while others decried it as a delusion of Satan. It is certain, that the imprudence and error of some of the ministers, and especially of the illiterate exhorters who promoted it, and their rash censures of others, and their pretences to visions, prophecy, and absolute perfection in holiness, and other extravagancies, and the sudden return of multitudes of the subjects of these impressions, to their wonted, or greater, abominations, tended much to lessen the credit of it. The truly great Mr. Edwards seems to have been at last convinced, that there was a sad mixture of delusion incorporated with, or joined to it. At present, I do

not know that the state of the church in New England is much preferable to that in Britain. About 1740, the province of Massachusetts contained about one hundred English congregations and thirty Indian ones, of all which, not above three or four followed the forms of the English church. Another revival of religion is said to have taken place in it of late. There are about seven or eight hundred churches in New England, of which thirty-six are Episcopalians, and not a few Presbyterian.

The province of NEW YORK continued in the hands of the Dutch from A. D. 1604 to 1664, when the English took it from them. About 1686, king James gave order for admission of the French missionaries from Canada into it, in order to convert the inhabitants to Popery. But Dungan, the Popish governor, perceiving that these missionaries would decoy the people into the French interest, commanded them to leave the country. Since which, though that of the church of England hath had a sort of establishment, yet not only the Dutch and Swedes, who continued in the country, but all others, except Papists, have been here tolerated in the free exercise of their religion, whether Lutherans, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, &c.

NEW JERSEY was taken from the Dutch about the same time with New York. James, Duke of York, being constituted principal proprietor, perhaps for a trial of what might be expected from his like conduct in Britain,—indulged, if he did not encourage Papists, rigid Episcopalians, Quakers, Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, to become proprietors and settlers in it. Not-

withstanding the encouragement given to the Episcopalians from England, the far greater part continued to profess themselves of the other denominations, while the Dutch and Swedes persevered in their own forms.

PENNSYLVANIA, so called from PENN, the famous Quaker, to whom king Charles granted it in 1681, hath all along had Quakerism for its established religion, as the greatest part of the inhabitants, at least of the proprietors, have professed their adherence to that. But, to invite others to settle among them, PENN and his council made it the first fundamental article of their constitution, That every man should have an unlimited freedom to worship God in what manner he thought best, providing that he did not disturb or injure his neighbours in their civil property. Hence, Lutherans from Sweden and Germany, Dutch and Scotch Presbyterians, Independents, Moravians, Episcopalians,—and Dunkards, whose men and women live in separate communities, much like the Popish monks and nuns, but in a much more decent, laborious, simple, and inoffensive manner, have all their full liberty. The Episcopalians have not many churches here; but it is said that some of their congregations, particularly that in Philadelphia, is exceedingly large. It is said that the Presbyterians have near 200 congregations in this country. Near to Philadelphia is the flourishing college of New Jersey, of which Davis, Dickinson, Burr, Edwards, &c. have been the respectable Presidents.

MARYLAND began to be possessed by Lord Baltimore and his Popish friends from Britain about 1634. Hence, many of the inhabitants continued adhering to the Romish church. His

successor, in 1662, got the assembly of the province to enact, That Christians of every denomination should be allowed the free exercise of their own religion. But, by a division of the province in 1692, into thirty parishes, sixteen of which were settled with Episcopalian clergy from England, and by Dr. Bray's transmitting thither a number of practical Protestant books, the Prelatical party became the most powerful, and a kind of established church.

VIRGINIA had its plantation with English begun by Sir Walter Raleigh, about 1584. It had its name from Queen Elizabeth, but has always made a poor figure in religion. About forty years ago it was divided into 54 parishes, of the form of the church of England, and had only two Presbyterian and three Quaker meetings.

CAROLINA, about A. D. 1622, began to be peopled with some who had fled from the frontiers of Virginia and New England, to avoid being massacred by the neighbouring savages. These, it is said, drew over sundry of the natives to embrace the Christian religion. In 1663, Lord Clarendon, and some other Englishmen of rank, obtained a grant of it from king Charles II. As sundry of these were no friends to the English act of uniformity, they, to encourage people to settle on their lands, agreed, That dissenters should not there be obliged to approve or submit to the government or worship of the English church. Locke, who drew up the original constitutions for this province, took care, therein to secure full freedom, not only for all scrupulous Protestants, but even for Jews and heathens; but, meanwhile, to require every one, above seventeen years of age, to join himself to

some particular worshipping society, under pain of forfeiting all the protection of law.—About 1703, the governor and his council enacted, That none should be admitted into office without taking the *sacramental test*, and *conforming to the English church*. But such loud complaints of this imposition were transmitted to Queen Anne and her Lords, that it was dropt, as contrary to the original constitution of the colony. About 1732, a colony of 600 Swiss Protestants settled here, as one of Scots had done sometime before, and another of Vaudois did soon after. About the same time also, a number of the *twenty thousand* Saltzburgers, who had left their own German dwellings, to enjoy freedom of conscience, settled here, while others of them fixed their residence in Georgia. All these, after some contention with the Quakers, Episcopalians, &c. lived peaceably together.

GEORGIA did not begin to be occupied by the English till A. D. 1732. The first settlers were generally of the English church. Messrs. J. Wesley and G. Whitefield had charges here, which they forsook, and commenced itinerant preachers in Britain and America. Dissenters of every denomination have had much the same freedom here as in other colonies. It is said that Archbishop Secker had formed a plan to bring all those colonies under the yoke of the English church; but his death and the late war prevented it. Mr. Whitefield's Orphan House is now a thriving seminary of learning, in which, and the Episcopalian colleges of Virginia and New York, not a few are educated in the liberal sciences; but, for ought I know, divinity is much overlooked.

In these parts which still pertain to Britain, Popery is properly the established religion in CANADA. The French inhabitants of NOVA SCOTIA still adhere to their Popish idolatries, while the Protestants are allowed to choose their ministers of any denomination they please. The ISLANDS, or WEST INDIES, are under the inspection of the Bishop of London, as most of the English provinces of America lately were. But I cannot find that the bulk of the inhabitants deserve to be ranked in any denomination of Christians, any more than those pertaining to Britain in the East Indies. Nay, their ignorance of, and inattention to, every spiritual and eternal concern,—their atheistical neglect of God's worship, and profanation of his name and Sabbath,—their whoredom, and other uncleanness,—their robbery, murder, and cruel enslaving, especially of the poor heathens,—render the most of them a disgrace to human nature.

The British Parliament had scarcely established the *Antichristian* abominations in their lately conquered province of CANADA, when God began to tear from them THIRTEEN of those American provinces which they had formerly governed, and which contain about *three millions* of inhabitants. Having procured their Independence by *Antichristian* assistance, these provinces, in their new *Constitutions* of government, have generally placed Jesus Christ and his adversary the devil on an equal footing, in giving the same establishment to the delusions, errors, blasphemies, superstitions, and idolatries, invented by the one, as to the infinitely precious

truths declared, and the true worship of God appointed by the other. Only the Constitutions of the Massachusets, and of the two Carolinas, appear to restrict their establishment to such things as these, called Protestants, have adopted, under the notion of religious sentiments or practices, and merely to tolerate Papists, &c.

About 1750, both Seceders and Old Dissenters, in consequence of repeated applications, began to send their respective missionaries to America, which issued in the settlement of a considerable number of their ministers there, particularly in the provinces of New York, Jerseys, and Pennsylvania. After these had long acted in three separate communions, answerable to the state of their connexions in Britain, they having observed that their subjection to judicatures in Britain did rather involve them in dry local controversies, which were improper to affect the communion of saints in America, if any where, especially after its becoming independent on the civil government in Britain, than do them any service,—did, in 1782, agree to unite in one body, under one Synod, on the following terms, viz. That they should cleave to the Westminster Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Directory for Worship, and Form of church government, as their *ecclesiastical standards*, except that they left these articles in the Confession, which respect *magistrates' power about religious matters*, to a future candid examination; that they approved the British COVENANTS of their fathers with God, and with one another, and all other regular contendings and testimonies to the truths of Christ, in the

present and preceding ages, and resolve to prosecute the ends thereof, as far as their circumstances allow; that, while they continue to honour their brethren in Britain and Ireland, they resolve to drop all disputes relative to burgess oaths in Scotland, or requisites to the legality of British magistrates; that their terms of fixed church fellowship shall be *soundness in the Christian faith, submission to the government and discipline of the church, and a holy conversation*; and that none shall be either deposed or excommunicated, but for gross errors, or practical violations of God's law; that though, for preventing disorderly confusions, it be requisite that they use great caution with respect to occasional communion with these Christians that are not embodied with them, yet they reckon it their duty to treat the godly of other denominations with great attention and tenderness,—and particularly, to be very cautious in admitting either persons or societies, which had belonged to their fellow Presbyterians in the country, to any fixed communion with them.

They have since composed a FORMULA of questions to be put to ministers, elders, and deacons, at their ordination to their office, in answering which, they must declare their approbation of their above-mentioned *constitutional articles*, which are to be alway read on such occasions, and promise to adhere thereto, in opposition to all Deistical, Popish, Arian, Socinian, Arminian, Neonomian, and Sectarian, and other errors, which are contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness; that they will meekly submit to the admonitions of brethren, and not follow any devisive courses, either by complying

with the defections of the times, or giving up themselves to a detestable neutrality in the cause of God ;—that zeal for the glory of God and the edification of souls are their principal motives inducing them to accept their office ;—that they have used no undue methods to procure their call to it ;—that they will study an holy and exemplary conversation in their personal, family, and official conduct ; and that they will faithfully and diligently perform all the duties pertaining to their respective offices.

They have also enacted several Rules for the right ordering of their Synod, Presbyteries, and Sessions.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

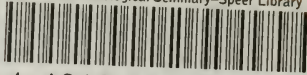
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